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FINAL REPORT

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A Comparative Study

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FRENCH AND ENGLISH CANADIAN POLITICAL JOURNALISTS

: A Comparative Study

A Research Report Prepared for the

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

Hawley L. Black

September 1967





## PREFACE

In September 1964, my director of studies at McGill University, Professor Michael Oliver, and I agreed on the desirability of beginning a study to compare or contrast the ways French- and English-Canadian political journalists conceived their roles in political reporting in Canada. Such a study, while in line with the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, we felt, also would combine the writer's interests in political science, journalism, and in French-Canadian Studies.

During the winter of 1964-1965, while meeting with Professor Oliver regularly to discuss the project, I also began to assess pertinent literature and to discuss the subject area with journalists and social scientists. During the summer of 1965, I was fortunate enough to be granted a Temporary Membership in the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa, in order to act as a "participant observer." Thus, by the fall of 1965, when I joined the research staff of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, much of the work on the study had been completed.

Thanks to the constant and expert methodological and editorial advice of Professor Oliver and Soucy Gagné, my supervisor at the Commission, and to the excellent research facilities provided by the Commission, the present study is more extensive than would otherwise have been possible.





I also particularly wish to thank Christopher Beattie, Peter Findlay and Monique Mousseau of the Commission's staff for their methodological advice and help and their editorial comments on the present study. Among other journalists, Thomas Earle and William Stewart of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery Executive, and Professors Wilfrid Eggleston, Wilfred Kesterton and Joseph Scanlon of the School of Journalism of Carleton University were most helpful.

I also would like to thank Dr. Katherine Cooke and David Monk for encouraging and permitting me to write the present report while serving as Communications Research Officer with the Canada Department of Forestry and Rural Development.

Neil Morrison of the Commission and Professors Francis Vallee and Robert L. McDougall of Carleton University also have expressed continuing interest in this study.

Finally, I would like to thank the respondents interviewed in the study for giving their time and views on this research problem,





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## INTRODUCTION

In recent years considerable attention has been paid to the "function" of the press or the "role" of the journalist in modern society. Thus, Canadian sociologist John Porter saw fit to devote a chapter in The Vertical Mosaic to the mass media in Canada. Of the "functions" of the media he writes:

To ensure that a value system does not become so vague that it ceases to perform its social function of providing cohesion, it is necessary to build into certain social roles the task of restating and generalizing values. Individuals who have a particular facility with the written and spoken word and who can manipulate symbols assume these ideological roles... In the modern complex society the roles are found in the operation of the mass media, the educational system, and the churches, that is, the roles of writer, publisher, editor, teacher, clergyman, professor and lawyer. To assume these roles may require specialized training...it is the incumbents of ideological roles who are the real custodians of values and interpreters of social experience.

The power of the modern mass media also stems from specialization ... the mass media make "sense" of and give structure to a wide range of national and international life. The mass media ... are the shared experience of millions of people. The structure and control of the mass media could scarcely be left out of the study of power.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Porter, J., The Vertical Mosaic, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1965. P. 459.



Likewise, a Washington journalist, writing of Washington journalists, states:

Increasingly of late those of us who report from Washington find ourselves the object of curious scrutiny by the political scientists. The press, it has been recognized belatedly, plays an important role in our nation's capital, though nobody seems exactly sure what it is.<sup>1</sup>

An American political scientist, also studying the Washington Press Corps, notes: "Students of politics have become sensitive to the fact that the press possesses a political function".<sup>2</sup>

This present report also is concerned with the political dimension of Canadian journalism. While this study is an attempt to explore the place of the newspaper in Canada, and to ascertain to what extent certain ideas are held or, just as importantly, not held, by Canadian "political journalists", it is something more. It is an attempt to evaluate through the eyes of the gatherers and selectors of Canadian national news, the function of the written arm of the "mass communications media in promoting bilingualism" and "better cultural relations" in Canada.<sup>3</sup> As the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism wondered: "Do our mass media provide

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<sup>1</sup> Cater, D., The Fourth Branch of Government, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1959. P. 1

<sup>2</sup> Nimmo, D., Newgathering in Washington, Atherton Press, New York, 1964. P. 4

<sup>3</sup> Canada Terms of Reference, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Preliminary Report, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1965. P. 151.





vehicles for bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada? What role do they play, and what is their responsibility in these fields?"<sup>1</sup>

This study then sought to obtain the views of practising Canadian political journalists on these crucial questions. The basic approach of this study is exploratory, seeking new knowledge or investigating the research problem at hand rather than attempting to prove a point.<sup>2</sup>

The exploratory study is, of course, a special form of descriptive survey. The descriptive survey is thus a training ground for the development of skill in conceptualization of the phenomenon and in the treatment of the findings in relation to error facts, both essential to effective analysis of explanatory surveys... Out of the findings of such surveys often comes the basis for the formulation of fruitful hypotheses about phenomena, or at least for some reduction in confusion in theorizing about a phenomenon.<sup>3</sup>

This exploration has involved interviews with Canadian "political journalists", that is, with editors of daily newspapers and with Press Gallery reporters, asking them to define the function of their media and of their roles within it, rather than relying on how "authorities" not

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<sup>1</sup> Canada. Preliminary Report, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1965. P. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Another example, in a related field, of the exploratory approach is Wahlke, J., et al, The Legislative System, Wiley, New York, 1962. P. 3. For a discussion of the nature of exploratory studies see Kaplan, A., The Conduct of Inquiry, Chandler, San Francisco, 1964. P. 149; Festinger, L., and Katz, D., Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences, Dryden, New York, 1953. Pp. 74-77.

<sup>3</sup> See Hyman, H., Survey Design and Analysis, Free Press, Glencoe, 1960. P. 77.



working in the mass media or learned journalist-authors have defined these roles or functions.

In terms of its method, this exploratory study can be said to constitute a significant contribution to knowledge. It is inter-disciplinary and is perhaps the first Canadian attempt to utilize sociological or social psychological "role theory" and sociological measurement techniques to study journalists who play a political role. An historical perspective also has been brought to bear on the topic. In this way, this study, it is hoped, has provided new data on the subject matter being examined.

The study focuses on French- and English-speaking Parliamentary Press Gallery journalists in Ottawa, Toronto, and Quebec City and on a representative sample of Canadian daily newspaper editors. These newsmen supplied answers to questions about various aspects of their journalistic roles. Of particular interest here are the ways in which French- and English-speaking political journalists define their roles and their papers' functions, and the views they hold about the function of their newspapers and their own roles in English-French Canadian relations.

In two special sections, the report examines specialized aspects of the journalists' role: the preferences of the Gallery journalists for using certain techniques to gain ideas on news stories (Chapter IV) and the information



possessed by the Editors about their own newspapers' views regarding staffing policies, which might affect coverage of "bilingual" or "bicultural" news<sup>1</sup> (Chapter V).

By providing previously unknown facts about the "political behaviour" of these Canadian Gallery reporters and editors, this study provides material on which further research on either or both of these groups may be based. It also provides some information which both newsmen and policy makers may utilize to improve the flow of Federal Government news to the newspapers, and, it is hoped, to the public. Hopefully, it also will help English and French-Canadian political journalists to understand the professional views of one another.

The extent to which news stories by the Gallery journalists, with their quasi-monopolies over Federal or Provincial news from Ottawa, Quebec City, or Toronto, actually reaches "the public" is beyond the scope of the present inquiry.

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<sup>1</sup> The present study adopts the approach of Professor Qualter who has interpreted the issues of "bilingualism" and "biculturalism" very broadly to cover all matters relating to Canadian nationalism including uni-nationalism, bi-nationalism, and multi-nationalism; separatist movements; ethnic issues; cultural, linguistic and political differences (and similarities) between Quebec and the rest of Canada; the role of the French language outside Quebec; federal-provincial relations, especially anything indicating that Quebec is, or is not, in a different position vis-à-vis Ottawa, from the other provinces; the treatment in the press of one province of affairs in another; reporting of the activities of the Royal Commission; and several other special issues that arose from time to time". Qualter, T.H., A Statistical Analysis of the Treatment, in Selected Canadian Newspapers, of Material Relevant to the Broad Issues of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, a Research Report prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1965. P. 3.





Hopefully, a thorough description of the operations, control, and techniques of the mass media in the Canadian political system will go far toward providing empirical data on the "custodians of values and interpreters of social experience" in Canadian society. Many findings on these subjects will become available as the results of the studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism are published. The present study fits into this broad research framework.

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<sup>1</sup> Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. P. 459



## CHAPTER I

## THEORETICAL AND RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

## Theoretical Framework

While studies of the mass media or of "journalists" could be done using one of several existing general theories of political activity, David Easton's approach is used here.<sup>1</sup> His "political system" is "reserved for those roles and interactions relevant to authoritative allocation of values for society as a whole". Similarly "membership of a political system will correspondingly identify collectively the persons in a society as they pursue the political role".<sup>2</sup> Within the political system, the journalists act as "gatekeepers".

Perhaps the most appropriate way to characterize these structural points in the system is to designate them as gateways regulating the flow along the demand channels. The occupants of the roles, whether they are individuals or groups, are the gatekeepers. They form the key structural elements in determining what the raw materials of the political process will be... The terms also designate those whose actions, once a demand is moving through the channels of the system, at some point have the opportunity to determine its destiny.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> His three principal works are: The Political System, Knopf, New York, 1953; A Framework for Political Analysis, Prentice Hall, 1965; and A Systems Analysis of Political Life, John Wiley, New York 1965.

<sup>2</sup> A Framework for Political Analysis, Pp. 56-57

<sup>3</sup> Easton, D., A Systems Analysis of Political Life, P. 96.





Thus, the mass media (and the journalists) are seen as "gatekeepers", in a discretionary position, making basic decisions at all levels --- reportorially, editorially, and managerially --- as to what the citizen and the policy-maker may read.

Within the limits of their positions and roles, parties, opinion leaders, the intelligentsia -- where they are a political force -- and the mass media similarly may search out the wants of what may in this context appropriately be called the silent ones in the system, the less articulate. And, as in the case of interest groups, each of these units may also initiate demands as a reflection of their own independently felt wants... hence these members or organizations are critical gatekeepers standing at the boundary of the system and controlling the initiation of demands.<sup>1</sup>

These reportorial, editorial or managerial decisions are "political" since they influence what issues are articulated for popular reaction, discussion, and debate. In deciding, what the "truth" is and what versions of the "truth" are to be presented to the public, the newsman acts in a "political" capacity.

Karl Deutsch implicitly acknowledges the political nature of the journalist when he puts forward the proposition that "government and parties -- that is, political systems or networks of decision and control -- are dependent on processes of communication and that they resemble

---

<sup>1</sup> Easton, D., A Systems Analysis of Political Life, P. 96



certain man-made communication equipment".<sup>1</sup>

To study gatekeepers several approaches are available.<sup>2</sup> The major approach employed in this study closely parallels that outlined in The Legislative System by Wahlke and others. This book suggests the utility of role analysis for studying a political "sub-system" and particularly for examining a problem such as this one.

It is our belief that the concept of role, applied to the analysis of the behavior of individuals, as governors, political party officials, lobbyists, and others, and to the behavior of news reporters, editors, and others who play a vital part in communicating the information which is vital to legislators' definitions of their day-to-day situations, can contribute much toward conceptual clarification in the area.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Deutsch, K., Nerves of Government, Free Press, New York, 1963. P. 145.

The computer analogy might be a useful notion for mass communication research in a bilingual society. It might be asked: "Is information from, or about, one language group transmitted to the other group 'functional' or 'dysfunctional' to national unity?" "Is the information flow or feedback adequate?" These questions may be very relevant in Canada today.

<sup>2</sup> See also Carter, R.E., "Newspaper 'Gatekeepers' and the Sources of News", Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXII, 1958. Pp. 133-144. See Also Gieber, W., "Across the Desk: A Study of 16 Telegraph Editors", Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXIII, 1956. Pp. 423-432; Donahoe, A.S., "Mass Communication Theory: A Macroscopic Approach," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXIV, 1957. Pp. 443-451.

<sup>3</sup> Wahlke, J., et al., The Legislative System, Wiley, New York, 1962. P. 20.



The concept of role has not been widely applied in political or communications research in the United States. It is even newer to Canada.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, a few definitions of concepts used in "role theory" would seem in order here. The following definitions are followed in this study.

Role is defined as "a set of expectations ... it is a set of evaluative standards applied to an incumbent of a particular position".<sup>2</sup>

Role theory suggests that the view one holds of his "role" in a process of interaction, his "role concept" is a significant factor governing his behaviour.<sup>3</sup> Human action results from a person carrying out activities which he regards as appropriate to one of his roles. Thus, the "political journalist" (Parliamentary correspondent or editor) could be seen as playing a "political" role.

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<sup>1</sup> One interesting Canadian application of role theory in political studies was the study conducted by Ward, N., and Hoffman, D., Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the House of Commons. A Research Report Prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Ottawa, 1965.

<sup>2</sup> Gross, N., et al., Explorations in Role Analysis, Wiley, New York, 1958. P. 60. "Role" may be studied in different ways, depending on whether role concepts are sought from participants in a role relationship or from outside observers. See the discussion later in this Chapter.

<sup>3</sup> See also Mead, G.H., Mind, Self and Society, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1934; Nadel, S.F., The Theory of Social Structure, Free Press, Glencoe, 1957; Parsons, T., The Social System, Free Press, Glencoe, 1951; Merton, R.K., Social Theory and Social Structure, Free Press, Glencoe, 1957; Newcomb, T.M., Social Psychology, Dryden, New York, 1950.







Roles are played out in a network of social relationships. Role theory draws attention to an actor's confrontations with other actors in a role relationship.

Because the term "role" is basic to this study, perhaps a quotation from Wahlke may shed more light on its meaning.

Role, for any individual legislator, refers to a coherent set of "norms" of behavior which are thought by those involved in the interactions being viewed to apply to all persons who occupy the position of legislator... Certain behavior is expected of occupants of positions because it is assumed they will comply with the norms of the position. In other words, a role is "normative" in both principal senses of that term: statistical, insofar as the role can be described as particular behaviors which are statistically normal (and expected, accordingly); and ethical, insofar as the role embodies behaviors which others think they have a right to expect.<sup>1</sup>

This is the usage adopted in this report. This study, then, is concerned with how the journalists define what is "proper" behaviour for someone in their role.

The set of norms which make up a person's role can be divided into subsets of norms according to the position, status, or character of the other person with whom the role player or actor in question is called upon to deal. Any role can analytically be divided into "role sectors". Each "sector" would comprise those norms appropriate to some particular counter-role, i.e., to encounters with persons occupying some particular counter-position or status.

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<sup>1</sup> Wahlke, J., et al., op. cit., Pp. 8-9.



A journalist may have various relationships with other individuals or groups of individuals ("role sectors"). A possible diagrammatic conceptualization of a journalist's various "role sectors" can be seen in Diagram I. This Diagram helped suggest relationships which might be explored in the interviews.

Another concept used by Wahlke and others and employed in this study is the notion of "role consensus".

The postulate of role consensus is still enmeshed in the analyses of many students of social behavior. Since their analyses assume consensus on role definitions among members of a group or "society" they have ignored its possible significance as a variable for social science inquiry. ... Empirical studies are needed to determine how much agreement there is on the expectations for the behavior of position incumbents...<sup>1</sup>

Role consensus involves two related notions -- inter-position and intra-position consensus.

Each member of a role relationship ... must agree to some extent about what behavior is appropriate for himself and the other in their encounters. In this case the problem is one of interposition consensus. Where a system includes a number of actors some of whom play common roles, i.e. roles which all are expected to play in relation to various counter-roles, the problem is not one of agreement between ego and alter but of agreement between a number of egos about what they should all do in relation to a common alter. In this second case, the problem involves intraposition consensus. To describe any role system completely, one must determine to what extent there is consensus, both interposition and intra-position, among all role players in the system.<sup>2</sup>

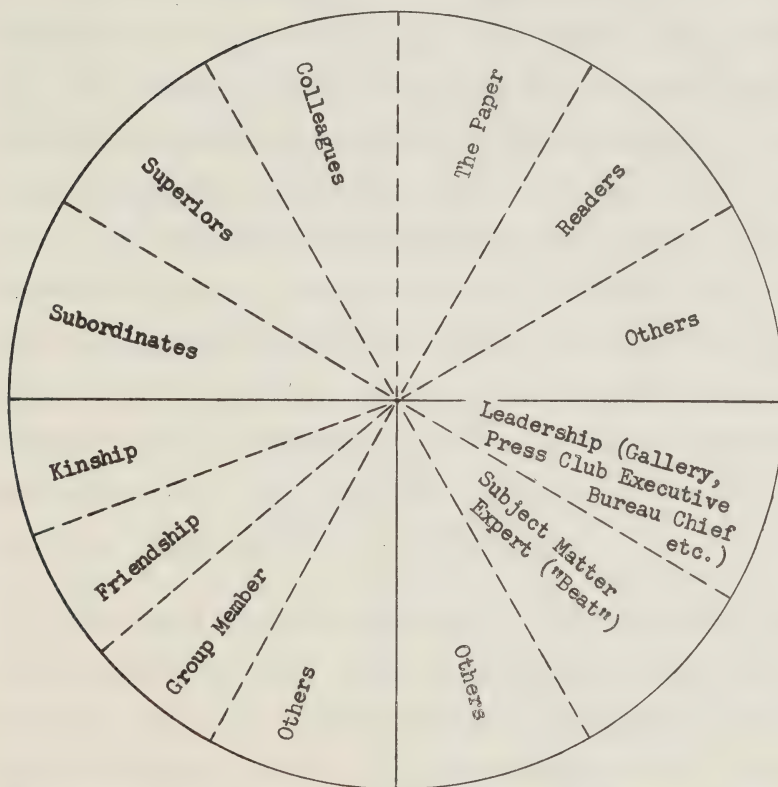
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<sup>1</sup> Gross et al., op. cit. Pp. 42-43.

<sup>2</sup> Wahlke et al., op. cit. P. 15.



## DIAGRAM I

THE ROLE SECTORS OF A (POLITICAL) JOURNALIST<sup>1</sup>"Professional" Role Sector"Private" Role Sector"Personal" Role Sector

<sup>1</sup> See Wahlke et al., The Legislative System, op. cit. P. 14.





One of the tasks of this study is to examine "intra-position consensus", that is, agreement by the journalists themselves on what they, as journalists, "ought to be doing".

Certain other theoretical possibilities also are suggested by "role" analysis. For example, the concept of "role sector" allows investigation of theoretically derived hypotheses concerning different degrees of consensus among the journalists about particular role sectors. Also, the concept of "role behaviour" permits a distinction between the actual behaviour of the incumbent of a position, i.e. what he actually "does", and the evaluative standard applied to the position itself, i.e. what he feels he "ought to do". Furthermore, it is relevant to examine the development of "role conflict", a condition where a person finds he faces conflicting obligations.

The basic approach followed in this study was to examine the expectations held by the actors themselves, about the way they (and their papers on which they have a "role" to "play") should behave. The study looked at the degree of consensus among 225 English- and French-speaking Canadian political journalists and editors on their conceptions of their roles as journalists and on the function of the newspaper in Canada. The journalists were interviewed as to



their conceptions of their "professional" role sectors (see Diagram I): colleagues, readers, newspapers or news agencies, and their "profession". Their relationships to these helps to shape their performance in the newsgathering process.

By using the "role sector" notion, which, in this report, refers to the relationship to a particular class of counter-positions, it would have been possible to examine the editors' views of the role of the Press Gallery correspondent, and vice versa. However, because this study was exploratory in nature, inquiries were made as to the role of the "journalist" in general, rather than to particular positions such as editor or Gallery correspondent.

It also is possible to consider a social organization such as a newspaper or a Press Gallery as a collection of individuals, each performing certain duties within the organization itself. The way individuals within the social organization see or perform their roles influences the way the organization performs its functions and the values it professes. Accordingly, the way journalists as members of a newsgathering organization (Press Gallery or newspaper) define the function of their organization can be an important indicator of the way the organization approaches the treatment of news.



With a large enough sample, the degree of similarity or difference between different newspaper staffs in perceiving the functions of a newspaper could have been gauged. Or, the study could have compared the views of owners, editors, reporters, and printers about their roles or their conceptions of the function of the newspaper.<sup>1</sup> Instead, the study chose to examine only those journalists involved in gathering, writing and editing the news about their views of their own role and the functions of the newspaper.

This was done for two main reasons. First, it was felt that the reporters and editors were more likely to come into contact with and have a greater influence on news which involved English-French relations than would other employees on a paper. Thus, while the reporting staff on a single newspaper might have been interesting from the point of view of studying the newspaper itself, it was felt such an approach would have little to offer to a study of the overall function of the Canadian written press in English-French relations.

Secondly, the cost and technical problems of selecting several "representative" newspapers in English-Canada and in French-Canada for study and comparison made this approach

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<sup>1</sup> See Breed, W., "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis", Social Forces XXXIII (May 1955), Pp. 326-335.





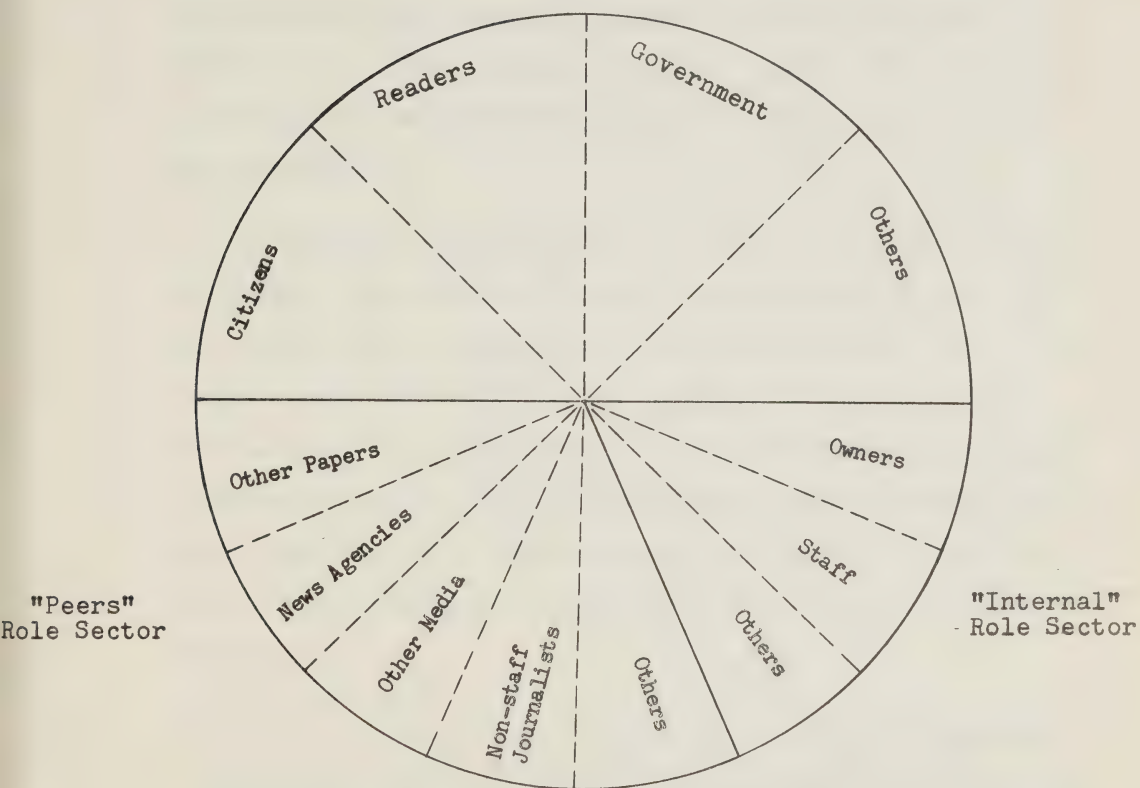
very impractical. Thus, ascertaining whether English or French-speaking Canadian newspapers saw their functions in English-French relations differently, would have been possible but difficult and costly.

A newspaper or Press Gallery or other social organization -- like their members -- may be involved in various relationships with different social groups or individuals. In the case of the newspaper, a presentation of some of these relationships may be seen in Diagram II. This outline of the main forces influencing the operation of the newspaper and the journalists who contribute to it also guided the formation of the research design.

### Research Design

Initially, a survey of much of the literature pertinent to mass communications and particularly to political journalism was made. Additionally, a series of interviews ("pretests") -- beginning with an interview schedule composed of non-directive questions and later, progressing to a schedule with both closed- and open-ended questions -- was made with persons chosen from among incumbents of the following types of positions: "editors" -- editors-in-chief, managing editors, city editors, news editors,



DIAGRAM IIA NEWSPAPER'S ROLE SECTORS<sup>1</sup>"Community" Role Sector

<sup>1</sup> See Wahlke et al., The Legislative System, op. cit. P. 14.



editors-of-editorial-pages -- and Press Gallery correspondents. In subsequent tests, many of the questions in the original open-ended schedule became "closed" or were dropped as data was accumulated and identification of major response categories became possible. Ideas also were obtained by reference to other studies which had been or were being conducted by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.<sup>1</sup>

From these sources and the theoretical framework just described, notions were obtained about points relevant to the subject to be studied, i.e. the journalist's (or "communicator's") role and the newspaper's function in Canada today, and particularly in English-French Canadian relations, and the journalists' approach to gathering news which might touch on English-French relations. These ideas were incorporated into a final interview schedule. (See Appendix A).

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<sup>1</sup> Notably the (two) "Qualter" the "Bruce" and the "Gordon" content analyses. See Qualter, T.H., A Statistical Analysis of the Treatment, in Selected Canadian Newspapers, of Material Relevant to the Broad Issues of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, cited as Qualter #1; Qualter, T.H., Analysis of Press Coverage at Regional Hearings in the Period March to June 1964, cited as Qualter #2; Bruce, Mrs. J., A Content Analysis of Thirty Canadian Daily Newspapers Published During the Period January 1 - March 31, 1965, With a Comparative Study of Newspapers Published in 1960 and 1965, and Gordon D., National News in Canadian Newspapers. The Commission also studied the Canadian Press and the control of the media and surveyed all Canadian radio and television stations and newspapers. This latter study was not available at the time this report was prepared.





As previously mentioned, it was decided that only persons actually involved in newsgathering were to be studied. Nor could all reporters and editors be studied. This led to the search for "political journalists". However, early in the study it was found that identifying the universe and the characteristics of Canadian "political journalists" was extremely difficult. Additionally, there were thought to be certain individuals such as sports reporters or police reporters, who sometimes would write stories on "political" happenings.

Two types of problems emerged: (1) identification of suitable individuals to study by using criteria that would yield comparable sorts of persons from paper to paper, and (2) identification of individuals who would have or be likely to have contact with news which has or might have bilingual or bicultural implications.

Accordingly, the decision was made to focus on "parliamentary" journalists and on certain types of editorial positions, thought<sup>1</sup> to be common to most papers as designating individuals likely to meet these two conditions. It was assumed that any individual who was a Member of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa or the Legislative Press Gallery of Ontario or Quebec was

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<sup>1</sup> Notably, by members of the School of Journalism of Carleton University and by journalists interviewed in pre-tests. See also the text of this study for specific references to other authorities and literature.



primarily a "political" journalist. Such an institutional definition, it was thought, would provide a relatively compact, fairly easy-to-identify "universe" from which appropriate correspondents might be selected.

Out of the total 76 journalists working for the written press in the Ottawa Gallery (65 English, 11 French) about 78 per cent were interviewed. (See Appendix B).

Because of the fairly small size of each of the provincial Galleries, it was decided to create the analytic category of "Provincial Press Gallery Journalist", as opposed to "Federal Press Gallery Journalist". Into this group, respondents from either the Ontario or Quebec Gallery were placed. This arrangement permitted the framing of certain questions specifically directed at either "Provincial" or "Federal" journalists, or the comparison of answers from respondents at either "level" of political reporting. Of the 54 journalists in the two Provincial galleries (35 English, 19 French), nearly 75% were interviewed. (See Appendix B).

In addition, five "key" editors on 22 English<sup>1</sup> and 11 French<sup>2</sup> language Canadian daily newspapers were to be interviewed.

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<sup>1</sup> A sample of English daily newspapers. See discussion which follows.

<sup>2</sup> All French-language Canadian newspapers (including all Quebec French-language dailies) except Moncton's L'Evangeline.



Examination of the literature on journalism and initial interviews in the area, tended to show that the following five positions could readily be identified in most English- and French-language papers in Canada.<sup>1</sup>

The five principal editorships, and the definitions of their functions, were:

editor, or executive editor, or editor-in-chief<sup>2</sup>

-- in general charge of and bears overall responsibility for news, opinion, personnel, and other editorial functions.

managing editor<sup>3</sup>

-- runs the day-to-day operation in newsroom and editorial departments, usually with direct responsibility for news staff hiring, salaries, hours, work assignments, staff organization.

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<sup>1</sup> While there are, of course, slight differences between French and English terms and between positions on different papers, a telephone call to an official on each chosen newspaper produced the name of the appropriate respondent. Thus, for example, the person telephoned would be asked to name the paper's "editor of the editorial page". In most cases the person telephoned was able to do so. In cases where he was not, he then was asked to give the name of the person who fulfilled the functions outlined in our definition of the duties of the editor of the editorial page.

<sup>2</sup> In French usually "rédacteur en chef".

<sup>3</sup> In French usually "gérant de la rédaction" and/or "directeur de l'information".





news editor<sup>1</sup>

-- directs work of copydesks and, in consultation with other editors, decides what news will be used, where it will be used, and how it will be displayed.

city editor<sup>2</sup>

-- charged with gathering all local news through city reporting staff.

editor of the editorial page<sup>3</sup>

-- in conjunction with the editor he sees to the writing, editing, and display of "editorials" and other material appearing on the paper's editorial page, and coordinates the paper's editorial policy.

The sampling of the daily newspapers on which the "editors" were to be interviewed was the same as those chosen for the "Bruce" and "Gordon"<sup>4</sup> content analysis studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The newspapers were:

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<sup>1</sup> Usually "chef de pupitre

<sup>2</sup> Usually "chef des nouvelles locales".

<sup>3</sup> Usually "éditorialiste en chef".

<sup>4</sup> See footnote 1, page 13.



Vancouver Sun  
Victoria Colonist

Edmonton Journal  
Calgary Herald

Regina Leader-Post  
Saskatoon Star-Phoenix

Winnipeg Free Press  
Winnipeg Tribune

Toronto Star  
Toronto Telegram  
Toronto Globe & Mail  
London Free Press  
Hamilton Spectator  
Windsor Star  
Ottawa Journal  
Kitchener-Waterloo Record  
Ottawa-Le Droit

Montréal - La Presse  
Québec - Le Soleil  
Montréal - Matin  
Sherbrooke - La Tribune  
Trois-Rivières - Le Nouvelliste  
Montréal - Le Devoir

Montreal Star  
Montreal Gazette

Halifax Chronicle-Herald  
Sydney Cape Breton Post

St. John Telegraph-Journal

St. John's Telegram

In addition to these original 29 newspapers,<sup>1</sup> 22 of which were published in English and seven in French, it was subsequently decided to include the four remaining Quebec French-language daily newspapers. These were:

Québec	-	L'Action
Grandby	-	La Voie de l'Est
Montréal	-	Le Journal de Montréal
Montréal	-	Métro-Express

L'Evangeline of Moncton, New Brunswick was not included for technical reasons.

Of these 33 papers, it was possible to locate 165 persons (110 English, 55 French) who filled one of the five editorial roles. Some 77 per cent of these persons were interviewed. (See Appendix B).

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<sup>1</sup> Accounting for about 80% of all Canadian daily newspapers sold each day.



When the selection of journalists was completed each was sent a letter soliciting their co-operation (Appendix C). Then, an attempt was made to arrange a time for an interview.

### Main Hypotheses

One major hypothesis of this study is that the French-speaking and the English-speaking political journalists in Canada have different definitions of the function of the newspaper and the role of the journalist in political communication in Canada today.<sup>1</sup>

A second hypothesis is that editors and Press Gallery correspondents in Canada have different definitions of the function of the newspaper and the role of the journalist in political communication in Canada today. In order to test these hypotheses a number of factors were examined.

Some of the factors which may be involved in the generation of a journalist's role conception may be seen in Diagram III.

The journalists' answers or responses to questions can be analyzed by using some of the factors suggested in Diagram III as "independent variables", that is as

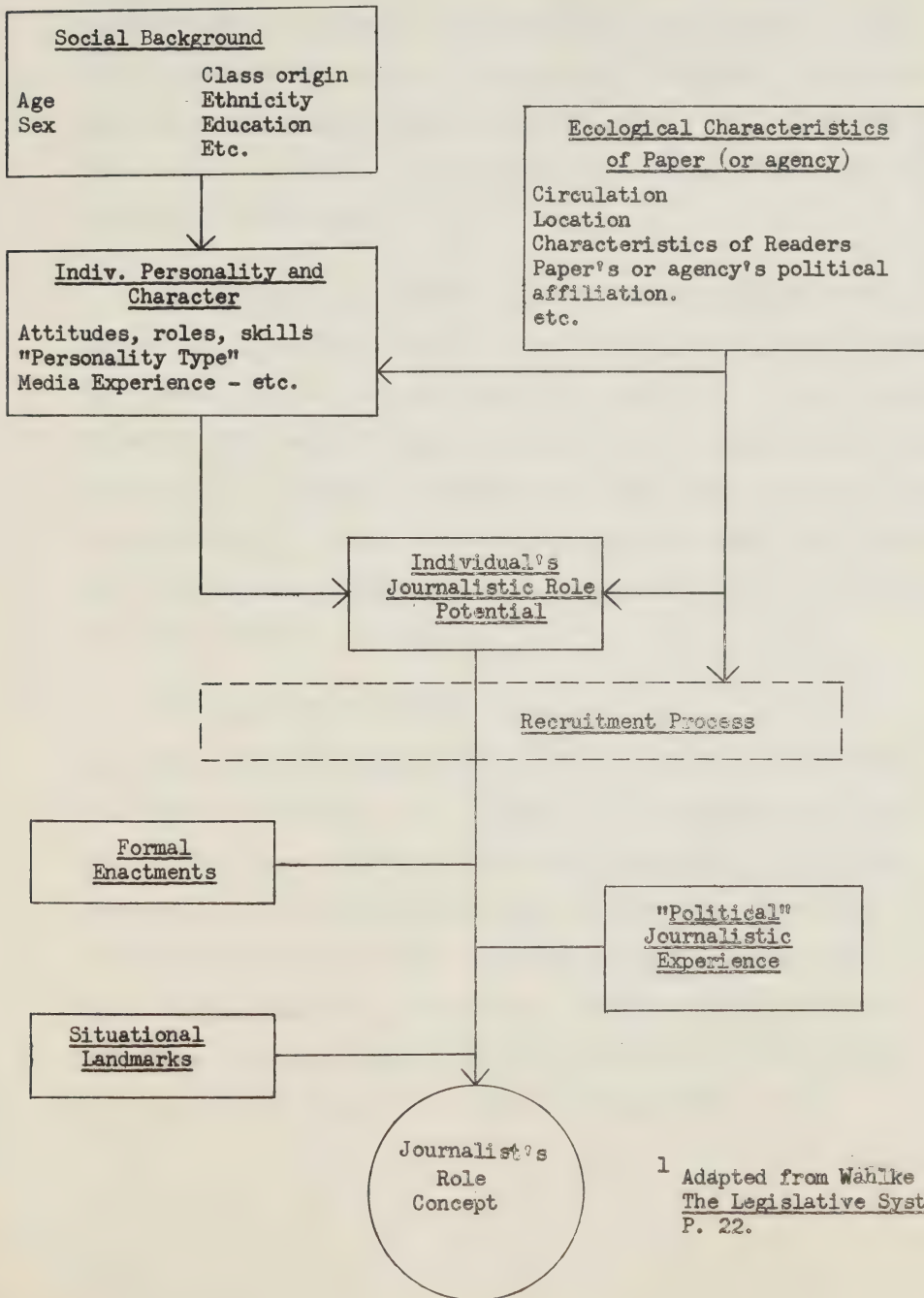
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<sup>1</sup> Since it was assumed most Canadian journalists write in the language which they regularly speak, "writing" and "speaking" are used interchangeably throughout the study.





DIAGRAM III

GENERATION OF "JOURNALIST'S ROLE CONCEPT"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Wahlke et al.  
The Legislative System,  
P. 22.



suspected "causal" factors. Thus, an answer might be analyzed by relating it to a certain known characteristic of the respondent such as his (or her) language, occupation, age, sex, education, ethnic origin, and so on. The responses then might be seen to be strongly associated with some of these characteristics.

The analysis presented in this report will largely be concerned with attempting to see if the journalists' answers vary when they are categorized (1) according to the language in which they write, and (2) according to occupation. Thus, "language" in which the journalists write and "occupation" (i.e. editor or Press Gallery journalists) have been selected as "independent variables", and responses will be categorized in terms of these variables.

The approach followed in the analysis of findings involved initial categorization of all responses to questions in terms of language (i.e. French or English-writing) and occupation (i.e. editor or Gallery reporters) of the respondents. If a large difference between the percentage of respondents of the two language groups answering in a certain way appeared, then this "language difference" was examined. This process involves "controlling" for occupational group, that is seeing if respondents of one



language group consistently have higher (or lower) percentages, regardless of occupation group. If this is found to be so, then a difference between language groups is affirmed in terms of the variables.

Similarly, if all responses to questions are categorized in terms of occupation, and if it is found that a larger proportion of respondents of one type of occupation than another appear to answer in a certain way, regardless of language, it is noted that there appeared to be an "occupational difference" in terms of the variable. Before the existence of such a difference is affirmed, the responses of all journalists of each language group are analyzed to see if, irrespective of language, a larger proportion of journalists of one occupational group seem consistently to answer in a certain way.

The presentation of results, then, generally follows the "inspection" and "controlling" processes outlined in the preceding paragraphs. No tests of statistical significance have been employed in the analysis, although the procedures used to select the journalists and the data presented in this report should permit such tests to be made. The approach, at this stage, is largely descriptive, with little attempt made to synthesize or raise to a higher level of generalization. This could be done after other variables have been examined, and further historical research is completed. Hopefully, this can be done in the near future.





PART I

AN OVERVIEW OF THE PRESS AND THE  
"PROFESSION" OF JOURNALISM IN CANADA



## CHAPTER II

## THE PRESS IN CANADA

This Chapter provides a description of the "stage" on which the Canadian political journalists play out their political roles. Here, we will examine the institutional structures within which the journalists operate and which may affect the ways they perceive or carry out their roles. Thus, before proceeding to look at the interview data gathered from our Canadian political journalists and presented in the remainder of this report, it is useful to examine briefly some of the characteristics of the written press in Canada today. Against this background, the reader may be able to comprehend more easily the data presented on the function of the newspaper and the role of the journalist in Canada and particularly in English-French relations, and on the editorial and reporting aspects of "covering the capital".

This Chapter will deal with such things as the concentration of ownership and the circulation of Canadian written media, the coverage in Canadian papers devoted to national news, the dependence of newspapers on news agencies, and the special position of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa in news-gathering. The next Chapter will deal with the "profession" of



journalism in Canada, utilizing objective data and introducing the reader to respondent data.

### Concentration of Ownership and the Circulation of Canadian Newspapers.

Perhaps the works of two persons stand out for their descriptions of the concentration of ownership and of circulation in the written press of Canada. John Porter, a sociologist at Carleton University, Ottawa, has outlined the concentration of power and control of the means of mass communication in Canada in his work The Vertical Mosaic.<sup>1</sup> His approach largely is statistical and descriptive, and is, in many places, based on the work of another Carleton University professor, W.H. Kesterton, who has studied the ownership and circulation of Canadian newspapers. Professor Kesterton, who has been both a "practising" and an "academic" journalist, has contributed many articles on the history and condition of journalism in Canada.<sup>2</sup>

Both of these scholars have been utilized in this brief descriptive section on the written press in Canada. In addition, certain other data have become available from

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<sup>1</sup> University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1965.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, "A History of Canadian Journalism, 1752-1958", in Canada Year Book 1959, D.B.S., Ottawa and articles in Canadian Annual Review (edit.) Saywell, J.





the various research projects being conducted by the Mass Media Division of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

English and French-language dailies in 1963 had a reported total circulation of 4,313,000 copies, about 82 per cent of these being in English and the remainder in French.<sup>1</sup> Thirteen of those papers with greater than 100,000 circulation accounted for more than half of the circulation. French dailies, not surprisingly, had their widest circulation in Quebec where nine of the 11 Canadian French-language papers were published.<sup>2</sup>

In 1963 there were about 100 English-language dailies, and some 11 French-language dailies in Canada. With regard to weekly newspapers, according to the 1965 article, there were 184 published in the French tongue, but 671 published in English.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, while there were 14 French-language weekend papers, there were only nine English-language weekend papers in 1963.

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<sup>1</sup> Much of the following has been adapted from the article on "The Press" appearing in the 1965 Canada Year Book, D.B.S. Ottawa, Pp. 847-851; and from the 1959 Canada Year Book article, written by Professor Kesterton.

<sup>2</sup> L'Evangeline (circulation 10,057) of Moncton and Le Droit (circulation 34,674) of Ottawa are the non-Quebec papers. See Ayer, N. Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, Philadelphia, 1965. P. 1167 and P. 1192, respectively.

<sup>3</sup> And 71 published in languages other than English or French.



In terms of daily newspapers, English newspapers were less concentrated in urban (i.e. over 30,000 residents) centres. Only 52% of the English-language papers came from such centres, while 100% of the French-language papers did. Similarly, French "weeklies" (i.e. both weekend and weekly papers) were more urban-based than were their English counterparts. In 1963, while only 41 of 680 such English-language papers came from urban areas of over 30,000, 56 French-language papers of a total of 198 came from these types of communities.

The article shows that there were also 102 publications printed in Canada in languages other than English or French. The largest numbers of these were printed in Ukrainian, Italian, German and Hungarian. None of these publications appeared daily.

As for magazines and other related publications, there were 805 printed in Canada in 1963. The article classified 197 of these as "trade, industry and related publications," 99 as "educational", 69 as "sports and entertainment", and 57 as "agricultural and rural".

Not apparent from these interesting figures is the concentration of control over the written press. Professor Porter's analysis involved both circulation and control.



Basing analysis on circulation figures taken from Canadian Advertising,<sup>1</sup> and the Canada Year Book (1961 edition), he described the concentration of daily newspaper ownership and circulation.

In 1958 three groups, the Southam Publishing Company, the Sifton, and the Thomson chains accounted for about 25 per cent of all daily newspaper circulation in Canada... About 12 per cent of all English and French daily newspapers accounted for more than half the total circulation. In 1953, fifty-seven publishers controlled the eighty-nine dailies in operation but eleven publishers controlled nearly half of them.<sup>2</sup>

It also is conceivable that "informal" arrangements, such as inter-locking directorates, media associations or personal contacts may add other newspapers or media to the "sphere of influence" of any given group or "chain".

This, of course, is only one side of the story. While the major newspaper "chains" control a large proportion of daily newspaper circulation, and while a few large newspapers account for much of the circulation of national newspapers, another phenomenon has accompanied these developments in Canadian newspaper publishing. This phenomenon has involved the growth of single-newspaper cities. The Canada Year Book for 1959 refers to 67 centres that were served by a single newspaper.<sup>3</sup>

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1 March - April, 1961

2 Op. cit., P. 463

3 P. 886. See also Porter, op. cit., P. 462 and his chart Major Media Complexes, 1961, Pp. 472-481.





The analysis presented so far has largely been confined to the English-language daily press. However, there are two other types of mass circulation publications in Canada. The first of these involves magazines and periodicals printed in English and the second involves the French-language press, including both dailies and periodicals or magazines. The English-language magazines and periodicals will be dealt with first.

Trade periodicals are heavily concentrated in Maclean-Hunter Publishing Company Ltd. or in Hugh C. MacLean Publications Ltd., which is controlled by Southam Publishing Company Ltd., the owners of the Southam newspaper chain. The Hugh C. MacLean company publishes twenty-one trade periodicals, and Maclean-Hunter publishes fifty four... Maclean-Hunter is the dominant publisher of consumer magazines. In 1961 its three main consumer publications Maclean's, Chatelaine, and Canadian Homes, accounted for two-thirds of the circulation of all Canadian consumer magazines with a circulation over 20,000.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly Canadian English-language weekend magazines have tended to be the property of existing major publishing firms. Thus, Weekend Magazine,<sup>2</sup> with 2,000,000 readers, owned by the Montreal Star, The Star Weekly, with 196,000 readers, owned by the Toronto Star, and Globe Magazine, 236,000 circulation, published and distributed by the Globe and Mail are the three largest English-language weekend magazines in the country.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Porter, op. cit., Pp. 463-464.

<sup>2</sup> And its French-language counterpart Perspectives.

<sup>3</sup> Figures taken from Canadian Advertising, January 1967.



In one major way the popular Canadian periodical press is quite different from the daily press. While the dailies are wholly Canadian-owned, the mass periodicals are predominantly American-owned.

There were in 1959 only five Canadian English-language consumer magazines with more than 20,000 circulation... There were in 1959 at least fifty United States publications with a circulation over 20,000.<sup>1</sup>

However, Porter found that French-language newspapers were completely owned by French-speaking Canadians.

There are no chains, except that which has linked Le Soleil-L'Événement-Journal of Quebec, La Tribune of Sherbrooke and Le Nouvelliste of Three Rivers, established by Senator Jacob Nicol. One-half of all French-language dailies account for about 90 per cent of all French-language daily circulation... As with English Canada there are links between newspapers and radio stations.<sup>2</sup>

While he found no ownership ties between French-language and English-language dailies, he noted that French-language editions of English-language American and Canadian periodicals were (and are) very popular among French-speaking Canadians.

Two of the largest circulating magazines, Le Magazine MacLean, 95,000 and Chatelain-La Revue Moderne, 106,000, are both owned by Maclean-Hunter... The French

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<sup>1</sup> Porter, op. cit., P. 465.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., P. 487.



edition of Reader's Digest, Selection du Reader's Digest, with 200,000 circulation, seems to be the most widely read periodical in French Canada.<sup>1</sup>

Against this background, it is now possible to examine the amount of coverage given to national news in various regions of Canada, the main source of this national news -- the news agency -- and the vital centre of national news gathering: the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa.

#### Coverage Devoted to National News

The term "national" news in this report will be used to refer to news about Canada, its Government, its peoples and their problems and views, and news of Canada-wide interest. The term "Ottawa" news will be used to refer to national news coming from Ottawa, and, hence, largely through the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery. Ottawa news may be shown to constitute a significant portion of national news.<sup>2</sup>

Most national news, the content analyses of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism found, comes from news agencies, although the larger newspapers often use staff-written material. The Ottawa staff of the news agencies, therefore, are a most potent force in disseminating national

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<sup>1</sup> Porter, op. cit., P. 489.

<sup>2</sup> Qualter #2, P. 87.





news.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, as the last section of this Chapter will show, almost all agency or staff-written Ottawa news is gathered and transmitted by Members of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery.

However, before looking at the role of news agencies in gathering and transmitting national news and at the privileges and rights conferred by Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery Membership, a brief examination of the patterns of Canadian national news coverage must be made.

Later in this report, it will be demonstrated that the distance of a newspaper from the Ontario-Quebec heartland of Canada seems to affect the amount of coverage the paper gave to English-French relations. Thus, it was found that Ontario and Montreal newspapers devoted more space to news of this kind than did Western or Atlantic newspapers.

Similarly, Donald Gordon's content analysis of Canadian newspapers in terms of their coverage of "national" news found that Ontario and Montreal newspapers were better served in terms of the amount and variety of news copy and editorial comment and guidance available than were papers in the other regions.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> And, of course, to some extent the Quebec and Ontario Legislative Press Gallery Members may play important roles in this process.

<sup>2</sup> Gordon, op. cit., P. 158.



Professor Eggleston earlier had made similar observations.

...It is still the fact that in Canada 'news' is largely local or regional in character... This interest in and preoccupation with what is near and familiar is ... part of the price we pay for inhabiting half a continent. Even if the physical difficulties of distribution could be overcome... a newspaper attempting to cover the national field adequately would probably have little appeal in any one locality.<sup>1</sup>

An examination of the newspapers published at, say, Halifax, Quebec City, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver, will show that while a few subjects of national interest are covered in a common way and with much the same comments, there are striking regional or local interests which commonly transcend and crowd out the national news, in every regional centre.<sup>2</sup>

Additionally, Gordon's content analysis found that the coverage of "national" news in each region -- Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, the Prairie Provinces and the Atlantic Provinces -- was quite distinctive. However, he felt, these regional differences were not as great as were the differences between French-and English-language papers.

While, admittedly, it is very difficult to gain an accurate measurement of the amount of "national" or Ottawa news appearing in any newspaper, one study prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism estimated that when it came

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1

Royal Commission Studies - a Selection of Essays prepared for the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1951, P. 49.

2

Loc. cit.



to covering one kind of "national" news, i.e. news with "bilingual" or "bicultural" implications, that "news of national (Ottawa) origin ranged from three per cent to 24% of the total news space in each paper, while news in which the subject area was national ranged from 33% to 65% of all news space".<sup>1</sup>

Also, with regard to news coming from the "Nation's Capital", an earlier examination<sup>2</sup> had found the following distribution of nationally and locally-originated news.

Coverage in Various Centres of Federal  
Government and Local News

	<u>Government news from Ottawa</u> %	<u>Local News</u> %
Montreal	6.0	57.0
Toronto	5.8	51.0
Vancouver	3.9	57.6
Winnipeg	12.1	55.2
Ottawa	2.8	55.5

Thus, in the Qualter study mentioned above, as much as one-quarter of all the news contained in some newspapers came from the national capital. In Mr. Kinsey's study, "government

<sup>1</sup> Qualter #2, P. 137, Ottawa also is seen by Professor Qualter as "the great source of national news". Ibid., P. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Kinsey, G., in Saturday Night, March 17, 1956, P. 7.





news coming from Ottawa" -- a somewhat narrower category -- has one case accounting for 12% of the news examined. The average percentage of such news was six per cent.

While Professor Gordon, in an earlier article,<sup>1</sup> unfortunately did not provide details on the proportion of "national" news which originated in Ottawa, he did show that, by his calculation, about eight per cent of the news in a selection of representative daily newspapers dealt with national concerns. Much of this national news likely was prepared by news agencies, and if it came from Ottawa, likely was gathered by Members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery.

The following section will deal with the dependence on news agencies of all but the large dailies, which have a fairly high proportion of their national news -- and hence, news on English-French relations -- written by staff journalists.

#### Dependence on News Agencies

Where a newspaper does not have a staff correspondent in a centre, or where the paper needs more coverage than the correspondent in that centre can provide, it is likely to use

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Gordon, D., "The Press -- Measuring the Mythical Family's Needs," Saturday Night, February 1963, P. 22.



news agency copy. Thus, an examination of the news transmitted by agencies may tell much about the type of news appearing in particular newspapers.

News agency copy may be provided by local or foreign bureaux of the agency or, as in the case of the Canadian Press, by the news staffs of member papers. It also may be supplied to the agency by other news agencies.

Canadian Press, a co-operative association to which almost all Canadian newspapers belong, transmits domestic news, gathered locally, to its members and clients, and obtains foreign news, mainly from Associated Press and Reuters. The New York bureau of C.P. has access to all United States news gathered by Associated Press. News constantly flows from domestic and foreign centres, is edited, and forwarded by leased wire to Toronto and other bureaux points in Canada from coast to coast. From there it goes to member papers.

In exchange for the 45 to 50 columns received each day from Canadian Press including sports copy, women's page stories, stock quotations, news and features from many parts of the world, Parliamentary news and wirephotos, the member newspapers supply Canadian Press with all the important news of their area. Every reporter on a member newspaper, on every story, makes a carbon copy, and his City Editor decides whether it goes to Canadian Press.



Most out-of-town news stories carry a by-line indicating that the story originates with a news agency or with a staff reporter. However, in some cases staff reporters may adapt agency stories and submit them under their own by-lines. In other cases, the editors of the paper may drop the agency by-line entirely, attributing the story to no one. Thus, the task of clearly identifying agency stories becomes difficult, and the job of measuring the size of the agency share in Canadian daily newspapers' copy is even more difficult.

Nevertheless, quite clearly some newspapers -- notably small or less thriving ones -- depend more on the agencies for coverage in certain geographical or subject areas than do other papers. All but a few of the largest papers in the country are dependent on the news agencies for their non-local news,<sup>1</sup> and particularly for news bearing on English-French Canadian relations. Editors may select what to print or not print in their papers. However, the selection of items is somewhat limited by the material received from the agencies.

On this general point, as Professor Qualter notes, the larger papers have more staff-written stories than do smaller journals.

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Qualter #2, P. 466.





The largest papers all gather a substantial share of their news through their own correspondents in other centres. For Toronto's Globe and Mail over 50% of all coded news items were obtained in this way and both the Toronto Telegram and the Toronto Star received more than 40% of their news from their own correspondents. Montreal's La Presse and Le Devoir followed with between 35% and 40% of their news space from correspondents in other centres. Below these were Vancouver's Province and Sun with 33% and 25% respectively and behind these again came Montreal's two English language papers, the Star and the Gazette. ... the average amount of news material attributed to out-of-town correspondents, based on the total volume of news in the survey, was 19.2% but only eight papers, out of thirty, all of them large metropolitan dailies exceeded this average. The median figure was 9.7% (in Le Soleil) just half the average. Six newspapers attributed less than 5% of their total news relevant to this survey, to their own correspondents.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the larger papers have more staff stories written by their own personnel than do the smaller ones, and, hence, are less dependent on the news agencies. The small papers, Professor Qualter found, were particularly dependent on the agencies. This dependence may be seen from the following quotation.

The smallest newspapers must all draw heavily on the news agencies for their material. Indeed the various press agencies supplied more than 75% of the bilingual-bicultural news published by six of the thirty papers in the survey ... although only 46.9% of all news items coded was attributed to syndicated sources, two-thirds of the papers exceeded this average and the median figure was 59%.<sup>2</sup>

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Qualter #2, P. 83.

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Loc. cit.



The first Qualter study also had found this dependence quite marked when it came to covering the Commission's regional hearings. Professor Qualter then found that "the Canadian Press is the principal source of all except purely local news. Even those papers which were members of the Southam News Agency, drew more heavily from Canadian Press than from Southam. The other agencies, principally U.P.I., accounted for an insignificant amount of the total news space."<sup>1</sup>

The Bruce study of the extent to which news of one province was carried in the papers of other provinces also showed that papers were very dependent on the agencies, notably the Canadian Press for non-local news. The Toronto papers were the only ones constantly utilizing staff-written copy.

The major source of news about every province was the Canadian Press. Comparatively little news originated with an individual paper's own reporters, and the only papers which constantly made some use of copy written by their own staff were the three Toronto journals, the Globe and Mail, the Star and the Telegram.<sup>2</sup>

All three papers were among the ten largest papers (in overall size) in the Bruce study and among the ten papers with the largest circulations.

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<sup>1</sup> Qualter #1, P. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Bruce, op. cit., P. 277.



Small papers are especially dependent on the news agencies or syndicated columnists for Ottawa-originated national news. At present only about 20 -- almost all large ones -- out of approximately 110 Canadian dailies have their own correspondents in the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa to gather or transmit Federal Parliamentary or administrative news.<sup>1</sup> Larger papers, too, or their Ottawa correspondents, may publish or edit news agency items coming from Ottawa or from other centres that are then dispersed to other papers.

Thus, for both national news in the broad meaning of the term, and for Ottawa-originated national news, the news agencies provide much of the copy seen in Canadian daily newspapers.

In the discussion so far, the special position of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery has come up repeatedly. Before dealing with the question of "professionalism" in Canadian journalism and with the interview data on the prestige of the Gallery and on the idea sources and language problems of

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While the composition of the Gallery is sketched in Appendix B to this report, the question of turnover in Gallery Membership, although relevant to the study, is not dealt with in detail. A few figures may suffice to point out the fairly high turnover in Membership. Of the 80 Gallery Members at the time of the 1956 Pipeline Debate, one quarter (22) had left by 1958, while there were 28 new Members. By 1961, only 40% (47) of the 80 "Pipeline veterans" were left, but a total of 69 new journalists had been added.





its Members, it is useful to examine the special position of the Ottawa Gallery and the rights and privileges conferred on journalists through Gallery membership.

### The Special Position of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery

Formally, the Press Gallery. "... is a voluntary, self-governing body subject to the authority of the Speaker in matters affecting House of Commons discipline and management."<sup>1</sup>

However, as one observer put it. "... no Speaker ever knew anything about it and no man in the Gallery ever brought the matter to an issue."<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the precise constitutional position of the Gallery appears somewhat unclear.

Historically, the Gallery seems to have been in existence before 1867, although it was formally "founded" in that year by Sir Thomas White.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1925, P. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Bilkey, P., Persons, Papers and Things, Ryerson, Toronto, 1940. P. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Crone, K., The Press Gallery (Ottawa) 1936-37, Beaver Hall Press, Montreal, 1936.



The small number of Gallery Members and their close personal contacts with Members of Parliament early led to the development of certain informal privileges. Many of these persist today, and others have been added to them since then.

One of the most crucial privileges is the exclusive "right" of these members of the "public" to observe and take notes of proceedings in the House of Commons and the Senate. There are also certain facilities provided by Parliament for the use of Gallery Members. These include: working space, cabinets, desks, the use of stationery, telephones, internal messengers, and free copies of all Government publications. Gallery members also may use the Government and Opposition Lobbies and the Parliamentary Restaurant.

Other instances of the "special" position of the Gallery may be seen from the fact that, of all journalists, only Gallery Members are provided with advance information on budgetary and throne speeches and on the estimates.

More recently, travel has become a by-product of being a Member of the Gallery. Thus, when the Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers, or the Leader of the Opposition go on trips, the Gallery is often asked to send representatives or individual Gallery Members are asked to go along.



Today, according to the 1961 constitution, there are five categories of Press Gallery membership.<sup>1</sup>

Active Membership is:

restricted to persons who earn the major portion of their income through the writing or broadcasting of Parliamentary or Government news or comment as full-time salaried staff representatives of one or more daily newspapers; radio or television broadcasting stations or systems; or a recognized news service, sending thereto despatches regularly; and to persons assigned to work in Ottawa as a resident correspondent of a periodical of national or international standing.<sup>2</sup>

Associate Membership is granted to persons "not qualified for Active Membership". Such individuals must be employed in writing or broadcasting reports or comments of Parliamentary or Government affairs.<sup>3</sup> Honourary Membership, for life or for a predetermined period, may be granted by a two-thirds vote. Life membership may be given, after being recommended by the Executive and approved by a majority of the Gallery, to persons who have spent 25 or more years in the Gallery but who have ceased being eligible for Active or Associate Membership.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The first constitution was drawn up in 1935.

<sup>2</sup> Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery: Constitution, Art II (a), P. 1, Parliamentary Buildings, Ottawa, December 1, 1961.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Art. II (g), P. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Art. II (e), P. 3.





Finally, Temporary Membership may be granted by the President or Secretary "to bona fide newspapermen, or radio or television broadcasters, or representatives of a periodical on recommendation of any Active member."<sup>1</sup> This last form of Membership does not entitle the holder.

...as a matter of right, to a seat in the Press Galleries of the House of Commons or Senate, nor to desk space in the Press Room, nor in any case shall such Temporary Membership entitle the holder to vote or to enjoy any other like privilege enjoyed by Active Members.<sup>2</sup>

The Gallery Executive is composed of four officers, five directors and the immediate past-president. As has been noted before, the precise relationship of this Executive and of the Gallery as a whole to the Speaker and to the House is somewhat hazy. However, it is clear that the Gallery itself controls its own Membership.<sup>3</sup>

The question of sanctions by Parliament against journalists violating the privileges of the House also has been left vague. In effect the House, and the Speaker, have little or no control

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Art. II (f), P. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> In the early 1960's one person who attempted to become a Gallery Member and who was not accepted by the Executive, appealed to the House and to the Speaker, both of whom declined to actively intervene.



over the Gallery or the actions of its Members. Recently, for example, the Speaker, after a long argument with the Executive, attempted to move the Gallery from its crowded space in the Centre Block to more spacious quarters in another building, leaving the previous quarters as an emergency newsroom. Members of the Gallery effectively circumvented his action by leaving many of their files in the old quarters, and by continuing to operate out of these rooms. Thus, Parliament would seem to be practically powerless to affect the Gallery in even the most trivial items. Greater tests of Parliament's "power" over the Gallery are wanting to say any more on this matter.

#### SUMMARY

Before introducing the reader to respondent data, this Chapter sought to touch on some of the principal characteristics of the written press in Canada.

The English-language Canadian daily and weekly written press is much less urbanized than its French-language equivalent. Thus, while only half of the English dailies come from centres with more than 30,000 persons, all the French dailies do so.

Additionally, about one tenth of all English- and French-language dailies account for more than half the total circulation. In 1953, 57 publishers controlled the 90-odd dailies then in



operation but 11 publishers controlled nearly half of them. Another phenomenon of Canadian newspapers must be noted. This involves the growth of "one-paper towns". The Canada Year Book for 1959, for example, refers to 67 centres that were served by a single newspaper.

Unlike the English-language daily press, the French-language daily press is more broadly owned. Significantly, no English-Canadian group controls a French-language Canadian daily newspaper and, conversely, no French-Canadian group controls an English-language Canadian daily paper.

While there are several French-language editions of popular English-Canadian (e.g. Le Magazine MacLean, Chatelaine - La Revue Moderne, Perspectives or American (Selection du Reader's Digest) publications, there are also some large circulation French-Canadian mass periodicals. Interestingly, in 1959 there were over 50 American owned but only five English-Canadian popular periodicals with more than 20,000 circulation in Canada. English-Canadian trade publications are dominated by two large Canadian companies.

Daily and weekly newspapers are very dependent on the news agencies, principally Canadian Press, for national news. Few of the papers, aside from the Toronto-Montreal-Ottawa ones carry many staff written national or non-local stories. Thus, small papers are especially dependent on news agencies, and particularly on the Canadian Press, for national news.





While a significant percentage of the news carried in the average newspaper originates in Ottawa, only about 20 of the dailies have correspondents in the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa, whose Members have a near monopoly on news gathering in Ottawa.

Canada's written press also has a distinct linguistic pattern.

Of the four and a half-million copies of newspapers daily sold in Canada, about four out of five of these are published in the English language while the remainder are published in the French tongue. While there are about 100 English-language dailies, there is one-tenth as many French dailies in existence.

No daily newspapers are published in languages other than French or English.



## CHAPTER III

## THE "PROFESSION" OF JOURNALISM?

## The Nature of Professionalism

In the work world, one of the major trends is the "professionalization" of a wide range of occupations.<sup>1</sup> In order to obtain professional status, the persons in these occupations attempt to rearrange their work and their public image. Their chosen model is usually one of the historic professions - law or medicine. The aspiring occupation attempts to take over those features which set apart the recognized professions from the more mundane vocations.

There are several traits whose possession is necessary if one is to acquire a professional identity. High educational standards, high income and prestige, a lengthy period of practical experience, and strong ethical norms are basic. In addition, those in the work must consider themselves as professional people and be strongly motivated to serve the public interest.

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent discussion of this area see: Vollmer, H. and Mills, T. (Edits.) Professionalization, Prentice-Hall Englewood Cliffs, 1966.



With these standards in mind, the state of Canadian political journalism may be assessed and the degree of "professionalism" which pervades this field determined.

First, let us canvas the views of several observers of the journalistic scene. Sociologist John Porter denies that journalism is a "profession".

There is, of course, nothing professional about the role of newspaper reporting. As a group, reporters have no disciplined academic training in any particular sphere, although they seem prepared to write about almost anything. They do not as an occupational group license themselves, govern their own affairs, or establish their own norms of performance... As an occupational group they are not highly paid, nor do they seem to have prestige.<sup>1</sup>

One speaker at the 1965 Couchiching Conference, quoting Mr. Walter Lippmann on the subject, was more hopeful of the evolution of a "profession" of journalism.

....as the function of a free press in a great society becomes more and more demanding, we're moving towards professionalization. A few generations ago, journalism was a minor craft which could be learned by serving an apprenticeship to a practising newspaper editor. Journalism is still far behind the established professions like medicine and law, in that there does not exist an organized body of knowledge, and a discipline which must be learned and absorbed before the young journalist can practise. There are, moreover, only the first beginnings of the equivalent of bar

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<sup>1</sup> Porter, J., The Vertical Mosaic, P. 485.





associations and medical societies which set intellectual and ethical standards for the practise of the profession. Journalism, we might say, is still an under-developed profession, and accordingly, newspapermen are quite often regarded as were surgeons and musicians a century ago, as having the rank roughly speaking of barbers and writing masters.<sup>1</sup>

And yet, despite these misgivings by learned observers, if journalists "feel" journalism is a "profession" they may conceive their role and perform their writing or editing duties quite differently than if they did not see it so.

This study approached the question of the degree of "professionalism" in Canadian journalism from two different levels of inquiry.

The first level sought to obtain "objective" data on the educational levels, number of years of experience in journalism, and prestige level of the journalists. No detailed attempt to compare these findings to census or other data on educational or experience levels of other "professions" will be made at this time. Although such a project might have proved rewarding, it was not done because of time limitations. Instead, the data gathered will be presented as general background against which the reader may compare the "subjective" data which follows.

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<sup>1</sup> Proceedings (unpublished), Canadian Institute on Public Affairs, Summer Conference, 1963. Pp. 116-117.



In addition to the "objective" data on the Canadian journalist, certain "subjective" or "attitudinal" data will be presented. These "subjective" data will be provided from the journalists' answers to questions which sought to tap certain of the respondents' feelings about the "profession". These questions attempted to ascertain whether the journalists themselves regarded journalism as a "profession", whether they were satisfied with the present ethical standards in Canadian journalism, and what might be done to improve these standards. Finally, along with these questions on the respondents views of the "profession" and its norms, they also were queried to see if they were satisfied with their present positions or careers in journalism.

The "objective" data will be presented first, followed by the more "subjective" items.

Objective Indicators: Education, Experience, Prestige

In terms of level of completed schooling, French journalists appeared to be more highly educated than did English newsmen while editors seemed to be less highly educated than did their Press Gallery colleagues.



However, unlike the established professions, a sizeable proportion of journalists had not completed a university education.<sup>1</sup>

It was found that while 21% of French respondents held post-graduate degrees, only eight per cent of the English did so. (Table 3.1A). Also, while only 36% of the editors had completed a first or higher degree, 55% of the Gallery journalists had done so.

A look at those with the least education shows that 41% of English journalists had never attended university, while only 27% of the French newsmen fell into this category. Similarly, while 44% of the editors had never been to university only 27% of the Gallery journalists had never attended university.

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<sup>1</sup> In Appendix D the manner in which information about educational level and other topics was categorized for purposes of analysis is presented. Note, that the present treatment of education does not deal with differences between higher educational degrees or between degrees granted by English or French-Canadian universities or colleges.



Language and Occupational Groups	Never attended University	Attended University but did not graduate	Graduated from University	Post-Graduate Degree	No Answer	Total
English Editors (N.80)	55.0	15.0	26.3	2.5	1.3	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	12.0	32.0	44.0	12.0	0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	32.0	16.0	38.0	14.0	0	100%
All English Journalists (N.155)	40.6	18.1	32.9	7.7	.7	100%
French Editors (N.47)	25.5	25.5	25.5	23.4	0	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.14)	28.6	14.3	42.9	14.3	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	33.3	0	44.4	22.2	0	100%
All French Journalists (N.70)	27.1	20.0	31.5	21.4	0	100%





TABLE 3.1B

PERCENTAGE OF JOURNALISTS HAVING COMPLETED  
FIRST OR HIGHER DEGREES, BY LANGUAGE AND  
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

<u>Occupational Groups</u>	<u>Language Groups</u>			
	<u>English</u>		<u>French</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>No.<sup>1</sup></u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.<sup>1</sup></u>
Editors	28.8	80	48.9	47
Provincial Press Gallery Journalists	56.0	25	57.2	14
Federal Press Gallery Journalists	52.0	50	66.6	9

<sup>1</sup> This figure represents the total number in the occupational group. This is the base on which the percentage is computed.

This combined category also showed that the French, because of their greater tendency to have post-graduate training, were proportionately better educated than the English in every occupational group.

However, the most noticeable feature is the large segment of journalists without university degrees. This ranges from 70 per cent of the English editors to a third of the French Federal Press Gallery.

Now, we turn to examine the amount of practical experience in journalism possessed by various types of journalists. As a starter, it seems that English journalists have worked longer in journalism than their French



When occupation was "controlled", the language differences persisted in terms of respondents with university training. The main difference, however, appeared to be that a considerably larger proportion of French than English editors had post-graduate degrees. Almost equivalent proportions of English and French in each occupational group had graduated from university with a first degree, but only three per cent of English editors had higher degrees, while 23% of their French peers did so.

When language was "controlled", it was found that, with one exception, there was no tendency for a larger or smaller proportion of editors than Gallery journalists to fall into any of the educational categories. The exception came in the category of journalists who had first degrees. Here Press Gallery journalists seemed to be considerably better educated than the editors. This reinforced the initial impression of a proportionately higher level of education among Gallery reporters than among editors.

When "graduates" and "post-graduates" were combined, this trend again became apparent, with only 29% of English editors but 56% of English provincial and 52% of English Ottawa correspondents having completed some higher education. (Table 3.1B). The same trend was apparent among French respondents with only 49% of editors but 57% of Quebec and 67% of Ottawa correspondents having completed some higher education.



counterparts, and editors seem to be more experienced than Gallery reporters. This is in direct contrast to the findings on educational qualifications.

The least noticeable language differences in terms of journalistic experience seemed to be in the 16-to-20 year experience range, which included 19% of the French and 21% of the English journalists. In each of the three categories covering the less-than-15-year range, percentage scores for French were consistently higher than for English. However, in the more than 20-year range, there were almost half of the English but only one-fifth of the French reporters. The experience of the newsmen is summarized in Table 3.2.

When the above data were examined for occupational differences, Press Gallery reporters scored higher percentages in every experience range except the last one. In this category, which covered journalists with more than 20 years of journalism experience, it was found that more than half of the editors but only one in five of the Press Gallery reporters were located. In short, editors much more so than Gallery reporters are likely to have spent a great deal of their life in journalism. This is probably natural since the editors in the study are likely to have been selected from among those who have devoted a life's work to journalism.





TABLE 3.2

JOURNALISTS' EXPERIENCE IN JOURNALISM, BY LANGUAGE  
AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES

Language and Occupational Groups	<u>Years of Experience</u>					Total
	0 - 5 years	6 - 10 years	11 - 15 years	16 - 20 years	20 + years	
English Editors (N.80)	0	8.8	8.8	16.3	66.3	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	28.0	24.0	20.0	20.0	8.0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	12.0	14.0	14.0	30.0	30.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.155)	8.4	12.9	12.2	21.3	45.2	100%
French Editors (N.46)	10.9	23.9	15.2	21.7	28.3	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	33.3	20.0	26.7	20.0	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	22.2	33.3	22.2	0	22.2	100%
All French Journalists (N.70)	17.1	24.3	18.6	18.6	21.4	100%



In all occupational categories, it was found that the English tended to be more experienced than the French. When language was held "constant", it was found that Gallery reporters tended to have less years of experience than their editors.

The percentage of English editors in the "20-plus" range was much larger than that for the French editors, and, in fact, this group, which included two-thirds of the English editors, was the group with the greatest number of years devoted to newspaper work. French editors in the the more than 20-year range accounted for only three out of ten of the French editors. There were no French Provincial -- and only two English Provincial -- journalists with this much experience. In the Ottawa Gallery, there were two out of nine French reporters and about the same proportion of English-speaking Ottawa reporters with this much experience (20 years or more).

Examination of the least experienced group - the 10 or fewer years group -- showed the French in each occupational sub-group to have higher percentage scores than the English, reinforcing the original impression of a more experienced English than French corps of Canadian newsmen. Editors, both English and French, again seemed to be more experienced than the Gallery reporters, i.e. there were lower percentage scores in this category for editors than for Gallery men in both language groups.



We can take this variable as an indicator that professional experience is greater among the English than the French writers and among daily editors than Press Gallery newsmen. The most experienced sub-group in Canadian journalism is the English Editor with two-thirds of the persons in this post having been in journalism more than 20 years. On the other hand, it will be recalled that 70 per cent of the editors lacked university training. Likewise, while it is the French who have more university training, they are less experienced than the English writers.

Hence, it is rare in Canadian journalism to find two essential characteristics of professionalism possessed by the same groups: high education and lengthy practical experience.

The prestige of the journalist was not canvassed in this survey, but other social research provides suggestive conclusions.

Bernard R. Blishen used the 1951 Canadian Census to construct a scale of occupational ranks based on income and years of schooling. He found that his scale correlated with measures of occupational prestige derived by American researchers at the .94 level, which is very high indeed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Blishen, B.R., "The Construction and Use of An Occupational Class Scale", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 24, (November, 1958). Pp 521-531.





The category "authors, editors, and journalists", which is the closest approximation to the present study, was placed mid-way in class 2 of a seven class scale. They were in the same company as librarians, social welfare workers, female osteopaths and chiropractors, and accountants and auditors. In other words, they were at the same level as a host of semi- and would-be professions.

In 1963, a national survey of occupational prestige in the United States<sup>1</sup> included the categories, "newspaper columnist" and "reporter on a daily newspaper". The newspaper columnist was almost exactly at the mid-point of the prestige scale - 46th place among 90. Two places below it (48th position) was the reporter on a daily newspaper. They were at the same level as undertakers, policemen, welfare workers for a city government, and radio announcers. Again, they were in the company of marginal professions.

Perhaps, of most direct relevance to the present pursuit is the recent study of occupational prestige in Canada by Peter C. Pineo and John Porter.<sup>2</sup> They used a

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<sup>1</sup> Hodge, R.W., Siegel, P.M., and Rossi, P.H., "Occupational Prestige in the United States, 1925-63", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 70 (November, 1964). Pp. 286-302.

<sup>2</sup> Pineo, P.C. and Porter, J., "Occupational Prestige in Canada", unpublished paper read at the meeting of the Canadian Association of Sociology and Anthropology, Sherbrooke, Quebec, June, 1966.





national sample with a special Montreal over-sample in order to increase the number of French respondents. They found that their sample under-represented certain population segments but they doubted that this would affect the over-all prestige scores.

The "Printing-Publishing" occupations on a scale from 0 to 100 had a mean score of 49. This placed them well below "political" occupations (81) and "science-engineering" (68) but above "women's" occupations (43) and "small business owners" (42).

The specific occupation "journalist" obtained a national score of 61. It was ranked higher by the English respondents (62) than by the French (56). With such a score level, the Canadian populace evidently place the journalist in close partnership with the positions of draughtsman, public grade school teacher, and public relations man, who received about the same score. Once more the journalist is publicly viewed as a semi-professional.

If these objective indicators can be taken as a guide, then journalism falls short of professional status. It contains a large proportion of persons who do not possess university degrees. The degree is a basic badge of professional standing. In addition, those groups with the



greatest experience also are least likely to have gone on to university. Hence, the journalists lack that necessary combination of formal theoretical training and practical wisdom which is the foundation of professional stature.

Measures of occupational prestige, likewise, demonstrate that the journalist is regarded as, best, a marginal professional.

#### Subjective Indicators:

##### A Sense of Professionalism and Satisfaction With Ethical Norms

In addition to the "objective" data on income, educational or experience levels, certain questions were asked respondents to determine whether they, themselves, felt that journalism was a profession, and asked them to comment on the standards in journalism. Then their degree of contentment or satisfaction with their own position in the "profession" of journalism was tested.

The first broad question on the "profession" sought to find out the journalists' views on whether journalism is in fact a "profession".

It was found that while more English than French and more Gallery journalists than editors felt journalism was a "profession", the journalists resoundingly did not regard



journalism as a "profession" in the usual sense of the term. (See Table 3.3). Of those who felt that it was a "profession", it was found that the percentage figure for the English respondents was more than twice as high as that for the French (14% for English, six per cent for French). While 93% of the French felt that it was not a "profession" 83% of the English held this view. While 15% of the Gallery reporters felt it was a "profession", only nine per cent of the editors felt this was the proper term for journalism.

TABLE 3.3

PERCENTAGE OF JOURNALISTS INDICATING THAT  
JOURNALISM IS NOT A PROFESSION, BY LANGUAGE  
AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS<sup>1</sup>

Occupational Groups	<u>Language Groups</u>			
	<u>English</u>		<u>French</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>No.<sup>2</sup></u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.<sup>2</sup></u>
Editors	86.3	80	95.7	47
Provincial Press Gallery Journalists	75.0	24	93.3	15
Federal Press Gallery Journalists	80.0	50	77.8	9

<sup>1</sup> Question 129 of interview schedule. See Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> This figure represents the total number in the occupational group. This is the base on which the percentage is computed.





In both language groups, a larger proportion of editors than Gallery reporters, either Provincial or Federal, felt that journalism was not a "profession". The group that felt most strongly that it did possess some professional traits was the Federal Gallery reporters, both French and English, of whom about two in 10 felt it could properly bear a professional designation.

The resounding conclusion is that over 80 per cent of the working journalists in all language and occupational categories felt that they were not professional people.

The respondents then were asked about their satisfaction with the present standards or ethical norms in Canadian journalism. Table 3.4 summarizes the results of this question, by language and occupation.



JOURNALISTS' SATISFACTION WITH PRESENT STANDARDS IN CANADIAN JOURNALISM,  
BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N.80)	5.0	36.3	56.3	2.5	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	4.2	29.2	66.7	0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	2.0	56.0	42.0	0	100%
English Journalists (N.154)	3.9	41.6	53.2	1.3	100%
French Editors (N.47)	0	48.9	46.8	4.3	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	0	6.7	93.3	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	0	22.2	77.8	0	100%
French Journalists (N.71)	0	36.6	60.6	2.8	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 133 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



From this Table, it becomes apparent that the majority of journalists were "dissatisfied" with the present standards in the world of Canadian journalism. There seemed to be a slight tendency for French-speaking journalists as a whole to be more dissatisfied than English-speaking journalists and for Press Gallery reporters to be more dissatisfied than editors.

Provincial Press Gallery journalists, in both language groups, were slightly more dissatisfied than were the editors or those covering the Federal scene. Thus, 56% of English editors and 46% of French editors were "dissatisfied", compared to 67% for English and a large 93% for French Provincial reporters. It will be recalled that it is the Gallery reporters who have the highest educational qualifications. This is perhaps the reason that it is these men who are most aware of reforms needed to raise the prestige of the occupation.

It is clear that the journalists reject the idea that they are professionals and most feel that they do not possess a satisfactory code of ethics.



### Satisfaction With A Journalistic Career

Despite the fact that 86% of the journalists interviewed in the study did not feel that journalism was a "profession" and that 56% of them were dissatisfied with the present standards in Canadian journalism, yet, most of the journalists appear to have been satisfied with their present work in Canadian journalism. Over 90 per cent of English and French journalists, and of editors and Gallery writers were satisfied or very satisfied with their position.

English journalists seemed to be the most satisfied with their present positions in journalism. (Table 3.5). However, the greater dissatisfaction on the part of the French did not cut across all occupational groups. It was most strongly located among the editors and Federal Gallery writers.

When language was held "constant", Gallery reporters were slightly more likely to be "very satisfied" with their present positions. Thus, while 20% of the English and 15% of the French editors were "very satisfied", some 38% of the English and 33% of the French Gallery newsmen were "very satisfied". It was the relatively well-educated Gallery men, the ones most critical of the present standards in journalism, who were the most satisfied with their work.





TABLE 3.5

JOURNALISTS' SATISFACTION WITH THEIR PRESENT POSITION IN JOURNALISM, BY  
LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N.80)	20.0	77.5	1.3	1.3	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	37.5	50.0	8.3	4.2	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	38.0	60.0	2.0	0	100%
All English Journalists (N.154)	28.6	67.5	2.6	1.3	100%
French Editors (N.47)	14.9	74.5	10.6	0	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	40.0	53.3	0	6.7	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	22.2	66.7	11.1	0	100%
All French Journalists (N.71)	21.1	69.0	8.5	1.4	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 132 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



In addition to the previous question, which tried to gauge the "contentment" of respondents with their present position in journalism, two other questions sought to measure the degree of satisfaction of the journalists' with the work they perform. The first such question inquired as to the journalists' intentions to remain in journalism. (Table 3.6).

The results show that nine out of 10 Canadian journalists interviewed in this study planned to stay in journalism. Only a few had "no opinion" about their future journalistic career. Interestingly, while English and French percentages are quite close, there are differences between editors and Gallery journalists. Thus, while 94% of both English and French editors plan to remain, 79% of the English but 87% of the French Provincial reporters plan to stay in journalism. The latter, more than their English brethren, seem to be more content with the Provincial arena, i.e. Quebec. This may tie in with the responses to a later question which seeks to find out whether Canadian journalists aspired to work at the Provincial or Federal Press Gallery levels. It was found that French Provincial journalists preferred to work at the Provincial level, while their English peers preferred to work in "Ottawa". Thus, it would seem that Quebec may be seen more as a terminal point in the career



TABLE 3.6

JOURNALISTS' INTENTIONS TO STAY IN JOURNALISM, BY  
LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL  
PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Yes	No	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N.80)	93.8	2.5	3.8	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	79.2	8.3	12.5	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	92.0	6.0	2.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.54)	90.9	4.5	4.5	100%
French Editors (N.47)	93.6	2.1	4.3	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	86.7	6.7	6.7	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	88.9	11.1	0	100%
All French Journalists (N.71)	91.5	4.2	4.2	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 130 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





pattern of French journalists. On the other hand, about two in ten of the English Provincial writers felt it unlikely that they would stay in journalism. This is perhaps because although they would like to cover the Ottawa scene, they are blocked from doing so.

The high "satisfied" percentages for both English and French editors perhaps also may be explained in terms of many of these persons having achieved the "summit" of their careers.

A second question designed to gain an indication of the "happiness" of a "newsmans' lot", asked the journalists if they would enter journalism a second time, if they had another opportunity to choose an occupation.

As may be seen in Table 3.7, there seemed to be no very noticeable trend for English rather than French, or editors rather than Gallery reporters to choose a career in journalism, if they had a second choice. With one exception, from 87 to 90 % of all groups would choose journalism again if they had a chance to start their career over.



TABLE 3.7

JOURNALISTS WHO WOULD CHOOSE A CAREER IN JOURNALISM AGAIN,  
BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL  
PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Yes	No	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N.80)	86.3	8.8	5.0	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	75.0	12.5	12.5	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	94.0	0	6.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.137)	87.0	4.7	5.7	100%
French Editors (N.47)	89.4	4.3	6.4	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	93.3	0	6.7	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	88.9	11.1	0	100%
All French Journalists (N.71)	90.1	4.2	5.7	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 131 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



The "most decided" groups were, on the French side, the Provincial Gallery reporters, 93% of whom would enter journalism again and, on the English side, the Federal Press Gallery writers. In contrast, English Provincial journalists were "the least decided" of all groups. Only 75% of the English Toronto or Quebec reporters were certain that they would enter journalism a second time. Additionally, 13% of these reporters said that they definitely would not and another 13% were undecided about this matter. Again, it is apparent that the English Provincial writers - the group most educated, most critical of standards, most certain that journalism is not a profession, - are the ones least likely to be committed to journalism as a career.

The journalists' high level of satisfaction with their own personal careers contrasts with their critical attitude to the present standards in journalism. However, despite their personal satisfaction, they had many suggestions to make about raising journalistic standards. In the next section, we examine the suggestions advanced by the journalists, themselves, as well as some comments made by leading observers of the Canadian press.



## Raising Professional Standards

There have been many opinions voiced on what is "wrong" with the press in Canada, and on what might be done to improve its performance or standards. It was not the purpose of this particular inquiry to collect data on what is "wrong" with the press. Rather, the study concentrated on obtaining, from various sources, ideas on what might be done to improve the standards in Canadian journalism. The question under consideration here asked the journalists for ways they thought the standards in Canadian journalism might be raised.

A brief examination of some of the suggestions and ideas offered by some leading observers of the press on ways of raising the present standards in Canadian journalism provides appropriate background against which to view the suggestions of the Canadian journalists interviewed in this study.

Suggested improvements have ranged from very specific to middle-range to very broad proposals. An example of the former may be seen in the words of one observer who, commenting on newspaper accounts of crime, and court news, felt that, "surely it is possible to raise the standards just a bit. The courts' man who does six or seven sketchy





items a day, for instance, could cut it down to one or two and use some of the extra time available to do some digging past the charge sheet. Rotation of staff might help as well. And probably most effective, editorial attention could be mustered a bit".<sup>1</sup>

A "broader" solution to the problem of raising "professional" standards in Canadian journalism was suggested by one speaker at the 1965 Summer Conference of the Canadian Institute on Public Affairs:

When the evils of the press are discussed in public, one idea for the correction of these evils often put forward is the matter of a press council and a code of ethics by which the business can police itself. The United Kingdom has such a Press Council. With such a code of ethics, I don't think it has brought any drastic changes to journalism there, but at least it does serve a useful purpose in that it brings to public attention, some of the more glaring examples of bad journalism and the people who commit it.<sup>2</sup>

The need, purposes and aim of such a Canadian "Press Council," were suggested by Compton, writing in Social Purpose for Canada:

There would appear to be a need in Canada for a publicly chartered General Press Council with representation from education, labour, and all elements of the public at large, as well as from publishers and working journalists. Though a function of the Council would be to scrutinize the press and to investigate complaints about

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<sup>1</sup> Gordon D., "The Press -- Comment and Criticism," Saturday Night, June 1964. P. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings (Unpublished) C.I.P.A., Summer Conference, 1965. P. 118.



malpractice, its major task would be the positive one of raising standards, perhaps through the formulation of codes of ethics, the establishment of journalistic scholarships and fellowships, and the institution of a series of awards for outstanding achievement... In a modest way, however, it would exercise considerable moral authority of a kind, and would at least provide a forum for the airing of grievances and abuses for which at present there is no provision.<sup>1</sup>

Such a proposal also has come from French-speaking Canadian journalists. Recently, after a speech by United Kingdom council chairman Lord Devlin, the Union Canadienne des Journalistes de Langue Française voted at its convention in Quebec to have its executive begin preliminary consultation aiming at a press council.

Perhaps at this point a few words on the operations of the British Press Council might be useful to the reader.

The British Council sits in judgment on complaints brought against Britain's newspapers and periodicals, rejecting those it regards as unfounded and upholding those it finds justified, and at the same time, keeps watch over developments affecting the British press and its freedoms. It also takes the initiative with submissions to government and other public bodies on relations with the press.

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<sup>1</sup> Compton, N., "The Mass Media" in Michael K. Oliver (Edit.) Social Purpose for Canada, Toronto, 1961. P. 74.



Besides Lord Devlin, who sits as independent chairman, there are 25 members of the Press Council. These include 20 from the newspaper industry --- speaking for the owners' associations and for editors, reporters and writers --- and five laymen to provide reader representation.

The money comes exclusively from a levy on the newspaper owners and journalists. Although there is no law to say it must, any newspaper which has had an unfavourable judgment from the press council is expected to publish it. In a recent business year, the council received 304 complaints. Of these, 103 reached the council itself for a decision. In 49 cases, the complaints were found to be justified. The other 54 were rejected.

The history of the formation of the Council is also somewhat interesting. A royal commission which sat in 1947-49 recommended the formation of a press council, largely to deal with complaints against press conduct. However, the idea of regulation of the press in any form proved so unpalatable to the industry itself that years elapsed before anything concrete was done.

In the autumn of 1952 a Labour Member of Parliament introduced a private member's bill to set up a press council with authority to impose sanctions. Faced with the possibility of Parliamentary action of the worst sort, the





industry "closed ranks", and by February, 1953, industry representatives had agreed on a draft for a voluntary council. The present Press Council held its first meeting five months later.

The council has been copied by West Germany, Turkey and South Korea, and variations have appeared elsewhere.

Establishing a Press Council and Code of Ethics seems to be one comprehensive approach to dealing with Canadian journalistic standards. Other suggestions have tended to be more "middle range".

One group of suggestions centres around the problems and needs of providing better training or education for journalists. Suggested one observer, "We need to improve the standard of education of people who are supposed to be reporting matters which require education... We need higher standards of training in the area".<sup>1</sup> Another individual felt that "more and more newspapermen should be recruited in the Faculties of Political Science."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Proceedings, C.I.P.A., Summer Conference, 1964, P. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Proceedings (Unpublished), C.I.P.A., Summer Conference, 1965, P. 124.



Other comments have concentrated on the problem of attracting journalists with adequate training and experience with the present salary levels maintained by Canadian media. As another observer at the 1965 Couchiching Conference bluntly asked, "if you want better reporters, why do you pay such lousy wages?"<sup>1</sup>

Against this brief outline of a few of the thoughts of some observers of the Canadian press, the reader is invited to compare the replies of the Canadian journalists interviewed in this study. Some of the journalists' suggestions, as might be expected, closely parallel those outlined above.

It is interesting to note that almost all journalists had one or more suggestions to make. This question seemed to be one of the most popular, and placed at the very end of the interview schedule; provided respondents with an opportunity to comment freely on a "lively" contemporary "professional" matter.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Proceedings (Unpublished), C.I.P.A., Summer Conference 1965, P. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Only the first suggestion was coded, however. Results were coded as indicated in Appendix D of this report.



There seemed to be several interesting language and occupational differences in the suggestions made. (Table 3.8). While only three per cent of the English suggested it, 32% of the French suggested that a greater degree of professionalism, such as a written code of ethics or a governing association, might raise standards in Canadian journalism. While 40% of the English suggested better training for journalists, only 17% of the French did so. Similarly, while 20% of the English advocated better pay for journalists, none of the French newsmen mentioned this idea.

While 26% of the Press Gallery journalists supported the idea of better pay for journalists, 38% of the editors did so, and while only six per cent of the editors suggested it, 15% of the Gallery correspondents advocated the encouragement of a more responsible attitude on the part of journalists.

French journalists more than their English peers in each occupational group selected a greater degree of professionalism or a code of ethics as the answer. On the other hand, English journalists in each occupational group more than their French-speaking colleagues advocated solutions calling for better pay for the journalists, for better training for them, or for more specialization in reporting or in researching of stories.



TABLE 3.8

JOURNALISTS' VIEWS ON HOW STANDARDS IN CANADIAN JOURNALISM  
COULD BE IMPROVED, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL  
GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language and Occupational Group	More Profession- alism	More Journalistic Freedom	Better Training for Journalists
English Editors (N.80)	3.8	2.5	46.3
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	0	12.5	25.0
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	4.0	8.0	36.0
All English Journalists (N.154)	3.2	5.9	39.6
French Editors (N.47)	31.9	8.5	23.4
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	40.0	20.0	6.7
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	22.2	0	0
All French Journalists (N.71)	32.4	9.9	16.9

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 134 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





Higher Pay for Journalists	A more Responsible Attitude by Journalists	More Cultural or Journalistic Exchanges	More Specializa- tion and/or Researching	Some Other Sugges- tion	No Opinion	Total
20.0	5.0	2.5	3.8	6.3	10.0	100%
25.0	20.8	4.2	8.3	4.2	0	100%
18.0	12.0	0	8.0	10.0	4.0	100%
20.1	9.7	1.9	5.9	7.2	6.5	100%
0	8.5	6.4	0	12.8	8.5	100%
0	6.7	0	0	6.7	20.0	100%
0	33.3	0	0	33.3	11.1	100%
0	11.3	4.2	0	14.1	11.2	100%



Editors more than their Gallery men preferred the better training formula, and the Gallery journalists rather than the editors suggested a more responsible attitude on the part of the journalists themselves as the answer to improving standards in Canadian journalism.

Thus, it would seem that the English suggested solutions which were based on improved training or salaries, and the French suggested solutions which called for a formalization of professional standards and organizations to enforce them. Editors preferred the "better pay" formula, while Gallery reporters chose journalistic self-discipline as their solution. In general, a quarter or more of the journalists in each language group and in all occupational categories felt that more thorough formal training coupled with stricter professional control would go far in raising the standards of Canadian journalism.

#### Summary

In summary, the political journalists cannot be called "professionals" in the traditional sense of the term. They do not rank particularly high in terms of objective (education, experience; prestige) or subjective (a sense of professionalism; satisfaction with ethical norms) indicators of professionalism. Nevertheless, they are highly committed



to their field and take a lively interest in upgrading their occupation, whose standards they feel are inadequate. There exists wide support for higher educational and ethical standards. This would seem to be congruent with the consciousness, reported later, of the important roles they play and the strategic public functions their papers serve in the Canadian political system.





## PART II

## COVERING THE CAPITAL



## CHAPTER IV

## THE GALLERY JOURNALISTS

Political journalists are in key positions to make basic decisions as to the communication of ideas in Canada, and particularly on ideas touching on English-French relations. Therefore, "how" and "from whom" these journalists get the news or the ideas for news become quite relevant questions. These questions, seen through the eyes of our Ottawa, Quebec, and Ontario Gallery newsmen will be examined later in this Chapter.

The main source of information about the Ontario and Quebec Gallery journalists will be their own comments. The Ottawa journalists, on the other hand, will be discussed in much more detail. There are three main reasons for this greater emphasis on the Ottawa Gallery. First, more has been written or said about the Ottawa Gallery than about the other two. Secondly, the Ottawa Gallery is numerically larger than the other two combined. Finally, as was suggested in Chapter II, much of the news of national interest -- and hence, much of the news about English-French relations -- appearing in Canadian daily newspapers originates in Ottawa.

Before dealing with respondent data, it is useful to examine briefly the way news is gathered in Ottawa, to see the value which other newsmen place on Membership in the Ottawa



Gallery, and to see the special position of newspaper Gallery Members in radio and television. These sections further support the choice of emphasizing newsgathering in Ottawa.

### Newsgathering in Ottawa

Most of the news gathered and transmitted from Ottawa originates with Members of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery. Because of their "quasi-monopoly" over such news, the 40 Canadian daily newspaper journalists together with the 21 news agency journalists in the Gallery, provide almost all news in Canadian daily newspapers pertaining to the Federal Government or to Parliamentary affairs. Together with the representatives of magazines and other written media, these persons provide almost all the "Ottawa" news appearing in all Canadian written media.<sup>1</sup>

The newspaper without its own Gallery correspondent, and the small newspaper with a small Gallery staff, are more dependent on news agencies or government "hand outs" than are the large dailies or dailies with larger Ottawa bureaux. At present, there are only about 20 out of approximately 110 dailies with

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For details of the composition of the Ottawa Gallery, in terms of language of media or journalist, and type of media, see Appendix B of this report.



their own Gallery reporters in Ottawa to gather Federal Parliamentary or administrative news. On the other hand, these same 20-odd newspapers account for more than 80 per cent of the newspapers sold in Canada.

Most of the routine reporting in Ottawa is left to the largest Gallery group, the Canadian Press, whose 15 English- and two French-speaking reporters supplement rather than compete with newspaper correspondents in Ottawa. The C.P. staff is divided into a dozen-odd "beats" to cover Parliament, departments and agencies, or other areas of interest. More than half of the 15,000-20,000 words sent daily from Ottawa relate directly to Parliament.<sup>1</sup> The remainder largely pertains to non-Parliamentary governmental events in Ottawa.

Southam News Service with four men serves about one half million readers. Of the Southam papers, only the Ottawa Citizen has its own Gallery men. It has five of them. Edmonton and Hamilton, two of the cities served by Southam, are "one-paper towns". Sifton-Bell papers (F.P. Publications) have one accredited correspondent writing for the group, but some individual member newspapers have their own reporters too. All the Thomson papers are represented by two men.

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<sup>1</sup>

CBC Television, "Not so Much an Agency as a Cult" Telescope, April 14, 1966.





These latter three agencies (Southam, F.P. Publications, Thomson) largely provide "interpretative" articles to their papers. The papers use C.P. for routine coverage of "Ottawa" as do the Gallery reporters themselves.

Accordingly the Ottawa Gallery newsmen have a special role in gathering and transmitting Ottawa and national news. It is these reporters who tell the public about Federal Government personalities, programmes, or ideas. It is these reporters who are in a special position with regard to seeing English-French relations in the Federal Government and at the national level.

#### The Prestige of the Ottawa Gallery

It has been said that "Membership in the Press Gallery in Ottawa is the top prize for the ambitious political reporter".<sup>1</sup> Interview data from this study would confirm this observation, with a rider that some groups more than others seem to feel that this is true.

Some idea of the importance of the Gallery as a political institution in Canada may be seen from the comments of one journalist.

The Gallery has one hundred and twenty-eight members, including associate and life members who turn out more than a hundred thousand words a day for more than four million Canadians who read the country's

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Eggleston, W., "Leaves from a Pressman's Log", Queen's Quarterly, Vol. VLIII, No. 4, Winter, 1957.



one hundred and fourteen newspapers, for every Canadian within reach of radio and television, for readers of periodicals, pamphlets, and monthly newsletters.<sup>1</sup>

That the Ottawa Gallery is viewed as the "top" among English-Canadian political journalists is clearly borne out in this study. It had somewhat less appeal to the French, however,

Overall, it appears that the English-language journalist preferred to work in the Ottawa Gallery, while his French-speaking confrere preferred the Quebec Legislative Gallery (Table 4.1). Thus while only 12% of the English journalists chose the provincial level, 52% of the French preferred the provincial area. However, it should be noted that while 83% of the English preferred Ottawa, 41% of the French did too.

Among those journalists who chose the Federal Gallery, the strong preference of the English-speaking journalists was seen in every occupational group. Thus, 80% of English editors, but only 38% of French editors, 64% of English but only 27% of French Provincial journalists, and 96% of English but 78% (i.e. seven out of nine) of French Federal Gallery journalists chose Ottawa.

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<sup>1</sup>

Callwood, June, "The Truth About Parliament", MacLean's, April 17, 1965, P. 9.



TABLE 4.1

JOURNALISTS' PREFERENCES FOR EMPLOYMENT IN THEIR PROVINCIAL  
OR THE FEDERAL PRESS GALLERIES, BY LANGUAGE AND  
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

<u>Language and Occupational Groups</u>	<u>Preferred Location</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Provincial Gallery</u>	<u>"Ottawa"</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>		
English Editors (N.79)	12.7	79.7	6	7.6	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	28.0	64.0	2	8.0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	2.0	96.0	1	2.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.154)	11.7	82.5	9	5.8	100%
French Editors (N.47)	53.2	38.3	4	8.5	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	73.3	26.7	0	0.0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	11.1	77.8	1	11.1	100%
All French Journalists (N.71)	52.1	40.8	5	7.1	100%

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Based on answers to Question 96 of interview schedule. See  
Appendix A to this report.





However, it is noteworthy that nearly all of the French Federal Gallery journalists preferred the place in which they were currently working over any other.

Accordingly, it may be said with some confidence, that aside from the French Ottawa correspondents, there was a definite tendency for French journalists to prefer to work at the provincial level (i.e. Quebec) and for English journalists to choose to work in Ottawa. Quite possibly, aside from those already in Ottawa, the French journalists feel that they would have fewer language problems working in Quebec than in Ottawa.

Authorities writing about the Gallery and most of the journalists themselves, then, tend to regard the Ottawa Gallery as something "special". In the following section, this report examines another aspect of the "special status" of Ottawa Gallery Membership -- the almost exclusive mandate of newspaper Gallery Members to interpret Ottawa news to Canadians, through the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

#### The Ottawa Gallery Members and the CBC

A person who writes for a newspaper or wire service also may write or contribute to another written medium or to the "electronic" media. Partly, because of the difficulties of obtaining information of this type for all our respondents, and, partly, because of the role of Ottawa newsmen in national newsgathering, this section will focus on the frequency of appearance of one



particular group of journalists - the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery journalists - on the publicly owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.<sup>1</sup> Although a similar study might have been done for the C.T.V. network, the CBC was chosen because of its national size, its high proportion of free opinion public affairs programmes, and the availability of suitable documentation. The CBC, because it is a publicly-owned concern, has become the focus of Parliamentary and public scrutiny, and hence, certain secondary material was available.<sup>2</sup>

The prominence of written press Members of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery on CBC radio and television programmes has been cited in the House of Commons. In the year 1958, for example, it was found that 27 members of the Ottawa Gallery appeared repeatedly on eight regular CBC programmes which dealt with government or parliamentary affairs.<sup>3</sup> Between them, these 27 journalists accounted for 229 out of 773 appearances for these shows. On some of these shows their predominance was considerable. Press Conference had a total of 18 participants making 33 appearances. The 16 Gallery journalists who made contributions accounted for 31 of these appearances. Capital Report had 15

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1 Time did not permit examination of the role of Quebec or Ontario Gallery journalists.

2 See, for example, House of Commons Debates, August 13, 1964. P. 250.

3 Senate Debates, 1959, April 19, P. 198. The programmes were Capital Report, Press Conference, Preview Commentary, Weekend Review, Post News Talks, Midweek Review, Byline and Viewpoint.



participants, making 50 appearances. Of the 15 participants, 13 were Gallery members, and these accounted for 40 of the appearances. Viewpoint and Byline, not being as heavily "Ottawa-oriented", were less dominated by the Federal Gallery.

This same sort of dominance by Ottawa Press Gallery members of the Ottawa-originated radio and television shows was found to hold for CBC French-language shows.<sup>1</sup> To date, Members of Parliament have not been as interested in the participation of Ottawa Gallery men in non-public T.V. and radio programmes.

For the present analysis, it was possible to obtain both the names and the topics discussed by newspaper and other "written" press Canadian Parliamentary Gallery correspondents making appearances on Ottawa-originated CBC network free opinion radio and television programmes for the first quarter of 1966.

The period chosen for examination covered the first three months of 1966. These months were chosen because they were nearest in time to the period in which the journalists' study would be undertaken and because complete data could be obtained for the full quarter.

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House of Commons Debates, 1961, February 1, P. 1619.





The relationship of Ottawa as an originating or producing centre for national network programmes will be dealt with first, followed by an examination of the frequency of appearances of Gallery journalists on the Ottawa segments of these national shows.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation programmes involved in the study and the total number of shows for the period, as well as the total numbers of shows originating from Ottawa are outlined below. (Table 4.2). As may be seen, there were no national free opinion shows which did not have some segment originating in Ottawa. It should be noted that several of the shows were basically non-political and several shows were not concerned with Canadian domestic politics. No attempt was made to obtain figures on estimated size or composition of audiences for these programmes.

Ottawa was found to be more of an English than French language centre for national network public affairs programmes. While no programme in the English network had less than 20 per cent of its shows originating in the national capital, among the French-speaking programmes aside from the programmes, Tour des Capitales (with 22%) and Sextant and Commentaire, which had all their shows originating in Ottawa, no French-language programme had more than 10 per cent of its shows originating in Ottawa.





TABLE 4.2

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROGRAMMES ORIGINATING FROM  
OTTAWA, FIRST QUARTER OF 1966<sup>1</sup>English Network Series<sup>2</sup>

Viewpoint	- 21 out of 63 originated in Ottawa (33%)
Business Barometer	- 14 out of 64 originated in Ottawa (22%)
Preview Commentary	- 33 out of 63 originated in Ottawa (52%)
Capital Report	- 13 out of 13 originated in Ottawa (100%)
Trans-Canada Matinee Commentary	- 25 out of 62 originated in Ottawa (40%)

## French Network Series

Commentaire	- 13 out of 60 originated in Ottawa (22%)
Sextant	- 12 out of 12 originated in Ottawa (100%)
Tour des Capitales <sup>3</sup>	- 13 out of 13 originated in Ottawa (100%)
Aujourd'hui	- 3 out of 60 originated in Ottawa (5%)
Présent National	- 4 out of 60 originated in Ottawa (7%)
Place Publique	- 1 out of 10 originated in Ottawa (10%)
Capital et Travail	- 1 out of 14 originated in Ottawa (7%)

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1 The percentage of programmes originating from Ottawa in each series is shown in brackets ( ).

2 Two series, Shop Talk and Today's Editorial are not included because of the small number of shows.

3 Basically about non-Canadian affairs.



In all, there were 265 English-language radio and television shows in the period.<sup>1</sup> Of these, 105 originated in Ottawa, some 40 per cent of all English-language free opinion shows in the period. There were 47 French-language, or some 22 per cent of a total of 209 national French-language programmes originating in Ottawa in this period. Clearly, then, a larger percentage of English-language public affairs programmes originated in Ottawa than did French-language programmes in the period.

Now, it is possible to assess the extent to which Ottawa Gallery men dominate the radio and television programmes featuring political comment beamed from Ottawa. The names of persons appearing on these programmes during the first three months of 1966 were examined to determine if they were Members of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery. Journalists appearing on the French-language programmes will be dealt with first.

On Ottawa-produced segments of CBC radio's French-language programme Commentaire, one person appeared six times, another three times, a third two times and two persons one time each -- a total of 13 appearances. All were French-speaking newspaper journalists and Press Gallery Members.

Host of the 12 Ottawa-originated television programmes in the Sextant series was a prominent French-speaking Montreal

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Excluding Shop Talk and Today's Editorial.



journalist who was not a Gallery Member. Two researchers were mentioned and both were French-speaking Press Gallery journalists. No English Canadian appeared as host or researcher.

Of the apparently English persons appearing on the 13 Ottawa-based Tour des Capitales shows, the only Canadian was from the English-language Globe and Mail (Ottawa Press Gallery). He appeared on two shows. In addition, a French journalist, also of the Globe and Mail, appeared once. The seven other English persons were all foreign.

Three of the CBC - TV Aujourd'hui shows in the period under review originated in Ottawa. A total of five guests appeared. All were French, and three of the five were Press Gallery Members (two for newspapers and one for Canadian Press). The remaining two also were journalists but not from the Press Gallery. No one appeared more than once.

In all, there were four Ottawa-originated programmes, with 11 participants, in the Présent National series in the first three months of 1966. Two persons, both French-speaking newspaper journalists and both in the Press Gallery, appeared three times each. Five others appeared - all on the March 23 programme - of these, all but one, were French newspaper Gallery journalists. The one appeared to be English but worked for a French-language newspaper.





There was one show in the Place Publique series which came from Ottawa. All four of the guests on this show were French-speaking Gallery Members, although the host was not. The sole individual appearing on the one Ottawa-produced Capital et Travail show was a Gallery journalist.

Clearly, then, it was found that Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery newspaper journalists played a dominant role among the segments of French-language CBC public affairs shows originating in Ottawa in January, February, and March 1966.

The English-language network programmes originating in Ottawa also were found to be dominated by Press Gallery journalists.

On the programme Viewpoint during the period under study, there were 21 shows produced in Ottawa (and 21 persons appearing). Only one non-journalist who appeared once, was featured on this series. Three appearances were made by non-Gallery journalists. The remaining 17 appearances were made by fifteen Gallery journalists who worked for the written press. One of the Gallery journalists, who made two appearances, was French.

Preview Commentary's Ottawa-produced shows also were largely Gallery dominated and were completely journalist dominated, with 32 of the 35 appearances involved being made by Gallery



journalists, and the remaining three by non-Gallery journalists.<sup>1</sup> Two of the Gallery journalists, one of whom appeared once, and the other twice, were French newspaper reporters. There were 20 other Gallery newspaper journalists appearances, including five appearances by Southam News Service staff and four appearances by magazine or periodical journalists.

Journalists dominated the 23 Ottawa-originated shows in the Trans-Canada Matinee Commentary series, with seven of the 25 appearances being made by non-Gallery and 18 by Gallery Members. Eight of the appearances were made by one daily newspaper Gallery journalist, and eight were made by a weekend newspaper journalist and two by the Gallery representative of an American weekly magazine. No French person appeared on the show in the first three months of 1966.

No Ottawa journalist appeared more than once on Capital Report. Of the 13 appearances involved, all were made by Gallery journalists, two of whom were French.

Business Barometer's Ottawa shows too were largely Gallery dominated. Of the 14 appearances involved, seven were made by one person and two by another, while only two were by two non-Gallery members, who were both journalists.

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It should be noted that the CBC's list of persons and shows listed 35 appearances. The CBC's list of network programmes showed only 33.



Clearly, then, the preceding analysis shows that for the period under review, newspaper journalists in the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa played very dominant roles on CBC national network public affairs shows originating from Ottawa. Furthermore, these Ottawa-produced shows accounted for significant portions of the network programmes examined. A similar examination of the role of Ontario or Quebec Legislative Gallery reporters in similar CBC shows, or a study of the role of the three groups of journalists on private radio or television might have been interesting had time and resources permitted.

Chapter II of this report touched on the importance of Membership in the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery as a key to gathering and transmitting news on Parliamentary and administrative affairs at the national level, and particularly on news touching on English-French relations. The first section of this Chapter has shown that Membership in the Ottawa Press Corps indeed is esteemed by many Canadian journalists. Furthermore, while Chapter II dealt with the formal advantages presented by Gallery Membership, the present Chapter showed that the Ottawa newspaper journalists are seen by the CBC as the key observers of and commentators on the Federal Government. Because of the pre-eminent position of these journalists, it becomes important to look further at how they work.





These next sections, -- to a great extent using interview data -- will examine the sources of story ideas and the news "contacts" used by these Ottawa newsmen in reporting "Ottawa" news, much of which, by its nature, would touch on English-French relations. Thus, it is hoped that the present examination will help to remedy the sort of situation described by an earlier study of the Ottawa Gallery which reported that "written sources have been scarce, specifically for determining the Gallery's sources of information... Something of the group loyalty and camaraderie of the prisoner-of-war camp are detectable in the Gallery members who talk about the Gallery."<sup>1</sup>

#### The Idea Sources of the Journalists

Because there was a great lack of information on the journalists' story idea sources, this project sought data about such sources by posing certain questions in the interview schedule only to journalists employed in Ontario or Quebec or the Federal Press Galleries. These questions were basically of a factual nature designed to obtain information on the difficulties and dynamics of newsgathering in "the Capital" in which they worked, i.e. Ottawa, Toronto or Quebec City. It examined their day-to-day coverage of Federal or Provincial Parliamentary or Governmental affairs and particularly news with bilingual or bicultural implications.

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Seymour-Ure, C., An Inquiry into the Position and Workings of the Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa, Carleton University, M.A. Thesis 1962, P. 4.





The first question in this series divided the types of sources of story ideas into three categories: "Government Sources", "Professional Sources", and "Other Sources". This categorization corresponds closely to those in the American Political Science Association prize-winning study of Washington journalists by Dan C. Nimmo.<sup>1</sup>

"Government" sources of story ideas were those groups or persons or events in Government or Parliament regularly covered by the journalists in newsgathering in the Federal or Provincial capital. They might include such things as covering House of Commons or Senate debates or committee meetings, attending press conferences, or meeting political or administrative "contacts" in the Government. The journalist's role would be passive in these contacts.

"Professional" sources of story ideas were seen as arising from the initiative or "action" of the "Press" rather than the Government. They would include such sources as colleagues' tips or a follow-up of a topical item or assigned "beats".

"Other sources" of stories would cover sources who were not necessarily in Government or in the "Profession" but rather sources who were personal friends, or story ideas generated by the curiosity of the newsman.

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Nimmo D., Newsgathering in Washington, Atherton Press, New York, 1964. P. 89.



In comparing the Canadian results to the Washington findings, it should be noted that Nimmo's sample was not representative as was this one, that he was not studying "language groups", and that his questions were non-directive, while those asked in this section of the project were closed, with open-ended questions as follow-ups. Also, there are institutional differences between the Ottawa and Washington Gallery set-ups. However, it was felt that some comparisons of results might throw some light on the applicability of U.S. findings to the Canadian system.

The first part of the first question inquired as to the role of "Government Sources" in providing ideas about an event in the Federal (or Provincial) administration. However, it should be noted, that due to a misunderstanding of instructions by some interviewers the response rate of this part of the question for the Quebec Legislative Press Gallery was so low that only tentative differences are suggested.

While only seven per cent of the English reporters replying usually used "scheduled functions" such as press conferences or proceedings of the House of Commons or Senate to gain ideas for stories, two thirds of French journalists replying did so. (Table 4.3) With respect to using public information officers, 13% of the English said they used this source. An additional 13% of the English used "M.P.'s tips".



TABLE 4.3

PRESS GALLERY JOURNALISTS: "GOVERNMENT" SOURCES OF STORY IDEAS,  
BY LANGUAGE AND BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	Scheduled Func- tion - (Press Conference Covering Sessions)	Information Office - (•PRO's, Press Releases)	MP's Tips	Technical Experts in the Civil Service	Top level Officials (Adminis- tration)	Other	Total
English Press Gallery Journalists (N.55)	7.3	12.7	12.7	21.8	38.2	7.3	100%
French Press Gallery Journalists (N.11)	63.6	0.0	0.0	9.1	18.2	9.1	100%
<hr/>							
By Occupation							
Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.23)	8.7	8.7	8.7	30.4	43.5	0.0	100%
Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.43)	20.9	11.6	11.6	13.9	30.2	11.6	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 124A of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.





None of the French employed either of these two sources. The results, however scanty, did seem to suggest that there were some language differences as regards "government sources" with the French more likely to get stories from scheduled functions and the English most often making use of PR men, MPs, and officials in the public service.

For both Federal and Provincial gallery writers, the most usual source was top administrative officials in the civil service. However, the provincial men used this source relatively more often than did their Federal equivalents. On the other hand, the Federal writers gained news from scheduled functions (two in 10 mentioned this) much more often than did the Provincial reporters. This latter group, more so than the Federal writers, would turn to experts in the civil service for information. Thus, there seemed to be a greater willingness on the part of the Provincial reporters to go to senior administrative officials within departments. The Provincial newsgatherers apparently have greater access to top government and civil service officials than do their Ottawa brethren.

Nimmo found that the type of idea source most frequently mentioned by his Washington newsmen was the "scheduled function". Contacts with "top level officials" came far down



his list. The Ottawa newsmen, like their Washington brethren, but unlike the Provincial reporters, seem to rely on "scheduled functions".<sup>1</sup>

Seymour-Ure, in his study of the Ottawa Gallery, offers further information on the use of Government information or public relations offices by Ottawa correspondents.

Nearly all the government departments and Agencies provide Information Services, the major exceptions being External Affairs, Finance, Justice, and National Revenue.....

In one way the Services are of great value... This is specially true of routine announcements about appointments, trade missions, and the like, and of matters involving details...<sup>2</sup>

However, he felt that the Gallery reporters preferred to use officials directly rather than information divisions.

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Nimmo's results may be summarized in the following table.

#### NEWSMEN'S SOURCES OF STORY IDEAS

Idea Sources (Categories not <u>mutually exclusive</u> )	Percentage Mentioning Source (N.34)
Government Sources:	
Scheduled functions	56%
Information office (P.R.O.'s, news releases)	40%
Congressional tip	25%
Secondary officials (experts, civil servants)	43%
Top level officials	15%

Nimmo, op. cit., P. 89

2

Seymour-Ure, op. cit., Pp. 146-147.



But the Press Gallery find the services less useful for providing information which has not been volunteered, and informal approaches to Civil Servants are more productive... The Canadian Press have a typical attitude: they find the formal announcements useful, but they try to anticipate and supplement them by developing relations with Department members.<sup>1</sup>

Seymour-Ure also suggested that another reason for not using these sources lay in the "credibility" of the sources. These sources, he felt, were often distrusted because the journalists felt that departmental handouts had a "strong flavour of progaganda".<sup>2</sup>

The problem is less difficult if one distinguishes Departmental Information Services from those provided by the Ministers' offices. In nearly all the Departments this is done, the major exceptions being Finance and External Affairs. This should mean that the Press Gallery refer to the Information Service for matters of detailed fact and to the Minister for matters of policy. In practice the distinction is not so easily made.<sup>3</sup>

Seymour-Ure's solution to the "confusion" of departmental and ministerial information staffs was similar to that suggested by the Editors' and Information Officers' Group of the Professional Institute of the Public Service to the Glassco Commission on Government organization.<sup>4</sup> This formula was that:

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<sup>1</sup> Seymour-Ure, op. cit. P. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., P. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit.



The director of information services should report directly to the deputy minister.

The director of information services should attend all policy-making departmental committees.

The director of information services should be consulted on all publicity and public relations activities by members of the Department.

All officers of an information service carry a great responsibility for the prestige of their department and they should be advised of all forthcoming changes in policy and legislation.

All press liaison should be carried out by the information services.<sup>1</sup>

Seymour-Ure comments that such an arrangement would,

... have the definite advantages of providing an authoritative source of information and perhaps loosening Gallery reliance on the Special Assistants. On the Department's side, it would reduce the senior officials' fear that juniors might commit indiscretions to the press.<sup>2</sup>

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Reprinted in Professional Public Service, Vol. XL, No. 9, September 1961.

2

Seymour-Ure, op. cit., P. 148.





However, to achieve this situation, some changes in current departmental information practices might seem warranted. This study suggests that information staffs are not often sought out by the journalists.

A second major source of story ideas arises from the initiative of the newsmen themselves. These "professional" sources include topics suggested by discussion with and tips from their colleagues, routine assignments or "beats", and following-up a currently popular news item. Once again, the fairly low response rate to this question kept in mind, comments are only suggestive.

It appeared that French journalists used their "beats" for story ideas more than did the English, and the Ottawa reporters used their colleagues more, and their assignments less, than did their legislative associates. (See Table 4.4).

There appeared to be "occupational differences" between Ottawa and Provincial journalists in two categories. While 38% of all Federal journalists named their colleagues, only 25% of the Provincial reporters did so, and, conversely, while only three out of 10 of the Ottawa correspondents named their beats or assignments, almost twice as high a proportion of Provincial journalists did so.



TABLE 4.4

PRESS GALLERY JOURNALISTS' "PROFESSIONAL" SOURCES OF STORY IDEAS, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Colleagues (Competitive and Non-Competitive)	Assignment (Beat, Scheduled Event)	A Topical Item (in News, Rewrite)	Other Professional Sources	Total
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.17)	23.5	58.8	11.8	5.9	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.36)	36.1	27.8	5.6	30.6	100%
All English Gallery Journalists (N.53)	32.1	37.7	7.5	22.6	100%
All French Gallery Journalists (N.13)	38.5	53.8	0	7.7	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 124B of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



Thus, "swapping blacks" or exchanging carbon copies of stories and gossiping in the Gallery as Seymour-Ure suggested, appears to be a major source of story ideas -- particularly in the Federal gallery.<sup>1</sup> Often, stories attributed to "a good many observers", "some backbenchers" or "many parliamentarians" have originated in the Gallery itself.<sup>2</sup>

One observer of the Ottawa Gallery wrote the following:

Many critics continue to clobber the gallery for a variety of real or imagined faults, among them the technique of interviewing one another, a time-saver that results in stories stuffed with "well-informed sources"... and may contribute to the frequent manifestation of the gallery phenomenon of Identical Inspiration, in which essentially the same conjectural story appears simultaneously in thirty newspapers across the country.<sup>3</sup>

In the same vein, another observer wondered that since

The Members of the Gallery drink together, they write together, they talk together... do they not tend to have one general opinion and not one individual opinion?<sup>4</sup>

As Seymour-Ure phrased it, "Gallery reactions are herd reactions".<sup>5</sup>

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1 Seymour-Ure, op. cit., P. 130.

2 Ibid., P. 138.

3 Callwood, J., op. cit.

4 Proceedings, CIPA Summer Conference, 1964. P. 128.

5 Loc. cit., P. 167.





An examination of Nimmo's results showed that the Washington and the Provincial Gallery reporters seemed to have more in common with respect to "professional sources" than did Ottawa and Washington reporters. A larger share of Nimmo's reporters named "assignments" than named their "colleagues".<sup>1</sup> This, of course, was the situation in this study with regard to answers of Provincial compared to Federal journalists. Interestingly, few of the Canadian journalists named "topical items" while a fairly large percentage of the Washington reporters did so.

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<sup>1</sup> Nimmo's percentages were as follows:

Newsmen's Source of Story Ideas

<u>Idea Sources</u> <u>(Categories not mutually exclusive)</u>	<u>Percentage Mentioning</u> <u>Source (N.34)</u>
Professional Sources	
Colleagues (competitive and non-competitive)	10%
Assignment, (beat, scheduled event)	43%
Topical (in news, rewrite)	48%

The Table has been adapted from Nimmo, op. cit., P. 89. The category "personal curiosity" placed in the "Professional" group, by Nimmo, will be dealt with in the next section on "Other Sources". "Personal curiosity" was named by 38% of Nimmo's correspondents.



No language difference cutting across occupational groups seemed to be obvious in responses on "Other Sources" (friends, informal sources, personal curiosity) of story ideas. (Table 4.5) Personal curiosity was most often mentioned in both language groups. However, it can be seen that, on the whole, French Provincial and English Federal sources seem relatively diversified, while English Provincial and French Federal seem to concentrate on "personal curiosity".

Occupational differences were present in "informal source" responses. Here, the provincial journalists in both language groups had higher percentage scores than did the Ottawa correspondents. Thus, Seymour-Ure's charge that the Ottawa Gallery has to rely too much on informal sources of information would seem to be less true for Federal than for Provincial journalists.<sup>1</sup> There were no differences between French and English reporters in using this technique.

There are, of course, several rather obvious dangers to using "informal" sources of information for story ideas, or for further information. Professor Eggleston has cautioned that "In order to become a top-rank political

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<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., P. 166.



TABLE 4.5

PRESS GALLERY JOURNALISTS' "OTHER" SOURCES OF STORY IDEAS, BY LANGUAGE  
AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGE<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Friends	Informal Sources	Personal Curiosity (Areas in which Reporter Exhibits Continuing Interest)	Other Sources	Total
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.21)	0	23.8	57.1	19.0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.44)	25.0	18.2	31.8	25.0	100%
All English Gallery Journalists (N.65)	16.9	20.6	40.0	23.1	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	6.7	26.7	40.0	26.7	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.8)	0	0.0	87.5	12.5	100%
All French Gallery Journalists (N.23)	4.3	17.4	56.5	21.7	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 124C of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



reporter it is necessary to spend years in intimate association with the government of the day; but in so doing one's capacity to see issues independently and critically may weaken."<sup>1</sup> Reliance on certain types of "informal sources" may brand a journalist as being "pro" or "anti" government. Use of such sources also may lead to the printing of conjectural stories.

Nimmo's Washington newsmen also frequently mentioned "friends and informal sources".<sup>2</sup> However, while "personal curiosity" seemed to be popular with both American and Canadian reporters there did not seem to be a stronger preference by Federal over Provincial Canadian reporters for using it. Both used it frequently. Almost 45% of all respondents in the Canadian study named "personal curiosity", making this category the most frequently nominated one. Similarly, in Nimmo's results, about two out of five of his Washington reporters named "personal curiosity".

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Eggleston, "Leaves ...", op. cit., P. 563.

2

#### Newsmen's Sources of Story Ideas

<u>Idea Sources</u> <u>(categories not mutually exclusive)</u>	<u>Percentage mentioning</u> <u>Source (N.34)</u>
Friends and informal sources	25%
Special interest associates	3%
Personal Curiosity (areas in which reporter exhibits continuing interest)	38%

Adapted from Nimmo, op. cit., P. 89.





While the low response rate on these questions about story sources prevents the formation of any firm conclusions, several tentatively fruitful notions are suggested with regard to sources of Press Gallery journalists story ideas. Provincial journalists, not unexpectedly, seem to use and, hence, probably to have easier access to, senior civil servants than do the Ottawa reporters. Ottawa journalists seem to get their story ideas from covering scheduled functions more than do the provincial reporters, possibly because such functions are not as frequently held at the provincial level. French journalists also seem to use their colleagues more than and topical items less than do their English peers to gain story ideas. Ottawa newsmen also seem to prefer to use their colleagues, while their provincial confreres prefer to use assignments or beats. Finally, Provincial journalists too seem keen on informal sources.

Nevertheless, while these findings are tentative, they are the first scientific data ever gathered on Canadian newsmen's ideas sources. The analysis next will deal with the level of departmental "contacts" used by Gallery journalists, and with their language problems in establishing these contacts.

#### Their Contacts

When queried as to which level within a Government department they usually used, 40% of the Gallery journalists



chose the "ministerial" level, while 35% chose government officials, i.e., at deputy-minister or lower official level, and only eight per cent named public relations or public information officers. (Table 4.6). There seemed to be a slight tendency for French journalists to seek out the minister while the English reporters seemed to prefer lower officials for their information. While only 35% of the English named the minister, 55% of the French did so. Interestingly, the English sources seemed to be the more diversified, while the French seemed to rely on the political level.

There also appeared to be three rather interesting occupational differences. First, 47% of the Provincial but 36% of the Federal reporters sought out ministers. Second, while 40% of the Provincial reporters chose deputy ministers, only 17% of the Federal journalists did so. Finally, a larger proportion of Federal than Provincial reporters also seemed to use "lower officials" and "other levels".

When language and occupation, in turn, were held "constant", the only apparent difference appeared in the deputy minister category. Here, there were both language and occupational differences with more English than French and more Provincial than Federal reporters using these contacts. Quite clearly, too, the French Federal contacts



TABLE 4.6

LEVEL OF "CONTACTS" WITHIN A GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT USUALLY USED, BY PRESS GALLERY JOURNALISTS BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Minister	Deputy Minister	Lower Officials	P.R.O.'s	Some Other Level	Total
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.19)	47.4	42.1	0	10.5	0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.44)	29.5	18.2	15.9	4.5	31.8	100%
All English Gallery Journalists (N.63)	34.9	25.4	11.1	6.3	22.3	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.13)	46.2	38.5	7.7	7.7	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	66.7	11.1	0	22.2	0	100%
All French Gallery Journalists (N.22)	54.5	27.3	4.5	13.6	0	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 126 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.





were much less diversified than were the English Federal contacts with French and English Provincial percentages coming between the percentages for the former two.

On this question of the level of source used most frequently, Nimmo found that "although the information officer is not the primary source level desired, he is the primary source level utilized by reporters."<sup>1</sup> The above analysis would suggest that this finding is inapplicable to Canadian and Provincial Gallery reporters. The public information officer does not seem to be readily utilized by these Canadian journalists.

In the Canadian study, only seven out of 85 journalists named the "P.R.O." or "P.I.O." level as the level to which they usually go for information.

One statement of Nimmo's would seem appropriate here. "Many newsmen," he writes, "pointed out that they prefer to go to the decision-maker no matter what his level may be in the agency hierarchy"<sup>2</sup>. In Canada, then, the minister may be seen as the "decision-maker", and particularly by French Federal journalists.

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Nimmo, op. cit., P. 83.

PREFERRED AND UTILIZED SOURCE LEVELS OF WASHINGTON NEWSMEN

<u>Source Level</u>	<u>Preferred (N.34)</u>	<u>Utilized (N.35)</u>
Department/agency head	46%	13%
Lower officials	47%	39%
Public Information Officer	7%	48%

2

Nimmo, op. cit., P. 86.



The Provincial and Federal Gallery correspondents also were asked if they had experienced any difficulty making "contacts" in government departments when they came to "the capital". About three in four of them reported not having had such difficulty, with Ottawa journalists reporting more problems than the others. (See Table 4.7).

TABLE 4.7

PERCENTAGE OF PRESS GALLERY JOURNALISTS RECALLING DIFFICULTY IN MAKING "CONTACTS" IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS WHEN THEY CAME TO THE CAPITAL, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupational Groups	Language Groups			
	English		French	
	%	No. <sup>1</sup>	%	No. <sup>1</sup>
Provincial Press Gallery Journalists	5.9	17	7.7	13
Federal Press Gallery Journalists	25.5	47	44.4	9

<sup>1</sup> This figure represents the total number in the occupational group. This is the base on which the percentage is computed.

In terms of those who found difficulty, there appeared to be several important occupational differences, with 90% of the Provincial but 72% of the Federal reporters stating that they had not experienced such problems. It appears,



then, that those who cover the Federal scene feel that they have greater problems in building "contacts".

When the data were examined in detail, one language difference arose. While only one in four of the English Ottawa reporters had such difficulties, four out of nine of their French-speaking peers reported problems. While the small numbers must be kept in mind, apparently the French, and particularly the French Federal reporters, feel that they have greater problems making government contacts than do the English.

In summary, Ottawa correspondents, of either language group, consistently found some difficulty in making contacts, while their provincial compatriots seemed to have fewer difficulties.

To the journalists who answered that they had experienced difficulty making "contacts" in departments when they came to Ottawa, Quebec, or Toronto, a "follow-up" question was posed. This question sought to find out if the difficulty was due to lack of knowledge "of the other language". The "other language" of course, meant French for English-writing and English for French-writing journalists.





Eight out of 10 of the journalists who reported difficulties said that these difficulties were not because of "lack of knowledge" of the other language. Only three of all the 18 persons who recollected having problems in making contacts said that this difficulty was due to insufficient knowledge of one of the two official languages. All three were in Ottawa, and one of these was English-speaking.

Not surprisingly, English journalists reported that their "contacts" within government departments were mostly English-speaking and French journalists reported that their departmental "contacts" were mostly French-speaking. French journalists, however, seemed to be more "inter-cultural" than their English-speaking colleagues. That is, the French were likely to report that they used contacts in both language groups equally frequently. (Table 4.8). A larger proportion of English than French reporters seemed to use "contacts" who were members of their own language group, likely reflecting the relatively "unilingual" Ontario Gallery and Legislature but the more "bilingual" Quebec Gallery and Legislature.





TABLE 4.8

LANGUAGE(S) SPOKEN BY THE "CONTACTS" OF PRESS GALLERY JOURNALISTS  
WITHIN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, BY LANGUAGE AND  
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Mostly English-speaking	Mostly French-speaking	Both equally	Total
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.18)	72.2	27.8	0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.47)	68.1	0	31.9	100%
All English Gallery Journalists (N.65)	69.2	7.7	23.1	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.13)	0	84.6	15.4	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.8)	25.0	12.5	62.5	100%
All French Gallery Journalists (N.21)	9.5	57.1	33.4	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 127 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



When occupation was held "constant", it was found that it was only at the Provincial level that the majority of English journalists relied on contacts who were mostly English-speaking while the majority of French newsmen relied on contacts who were mostly French-speaking. Understandably, the English "mostly English-speaking" percentages are in the 70% range. The fact that there were no French Provincial journalists at all -- and not too many French officials -- in Toronto was reflected in the larger share of English than French Provincial reporters tending to have "mostly English-speaking contacts." The French percentages for "mostly French-speaking" were even larger in Quebec (85%). In Ottawa the picture changes. Only one of the eight French federal reporters stated that his contacts were mainly French. Also, the French "both equally" percentages are quite high in Ottawa (63%), but quite low in the Provincial arena, likely reflecting the fact that the French Provincial reporters studied were all in the Quebec Gallery, where they could work in French. Interesting, too, is the fact that nearly a third (32%) of English Ottawa newsmen report that their contacts are equally with French or English speakers.

Quite clearly, the picture that emerges is that French journalists mostly use French-speaking contacts in Quebec. In Ottawa, both language groups tend to have English contacts, or both equally and the English Provincial contacts are overwhelmingly English-speaking.



In this Chapter, we looked at the views of the "gatherers" of news -- the Provincial and especially the Federal Gallery journalists -- on their sources of story ideas, their contacts and their language problems in gathering news. Now, we turn our attention to the views of the final arbiters of the news appearing in our daily newspapers -- the editors.

### Summary

The Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa is "something special" in the process of gathering national news and in the eyes of the journalists themselves. For all occupational groups, except the French Provincial writers, there was a strong attraction toward the national level.

The analysis showed that CBC free opinion public affairs series have a significant proportion of their shows originating from Ottawa, and that the Ottawa Gallery reporters, through their near monopoly of Ottawa news, tend to dominate these shows. Hence, it is clear that the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation also sees the Ottawa newspaper Gallery journalists as the key observers and commentators on the Federal Government.

As for story idea sources, the provincial journalists seem to use and have easier access to senior civil servants than do the Ottawa reporters. Ottawa journalists seem to get their story ideas from covering scheduled functions, such as





Parliamentary or committee meetings, more than do the provincial newsmen. French journalists seem to use their colleagues more and topical items less than do their English peers in order to gain story ideas. Ottawa newsmen seem to prefer to use their colleagues, while their provincial peers prefer to use assignments or beats. Provincial journalists seem keen on informal sources.

Although only one in five of the journalists could recall having any such problems, Ottawa correspondents more than provincial newsmen seemed to have had difficulty in making "contacts" when they came to the capital. Yet, of the 18 persons reporting problems only three persons --- all in Ottawa --- thought this difficulty was due to their lack of knowledge of the other official language.

English-language journalists' contacts appeared much more diversified than French-speaking journalists' contacts. French Federal reporters seemed to rely very much on the ministerial level, while English more than French newsmen and Provincial more than Federal newsmen utilized the deputy minister level.

French journalists used mostly French-speaking contacts in Quebec. In Ottawa, their contacts tend to be English or English and French equally. English Provincial and Federal contacts are mainly English.



## CHAPTER V

## THE EDITORS

A previous Royal Commission has provided a picture of the role of a Canadian daily newspaper editor:

Every managing editor develops his own conception of what is "news", and subject to practical limitations normally seeks to make this paper exemplify this conception. His personal ideas about priority of importance in current events are reflected by the headlines in his paper; what is played up, and by what is left out. His range, quality and tone of Canadian news is to a large extent governed by the activities and news policies of the Canadian Press, the British United Press and his own reporters and correspondents... Out of the vast number of events and transactions occurring each day in Canada, a few must be singled out by reporters and editors for closer attention, for reporting and transmitting.<sup>1</sup>

The account clearly shows the role of the editor in selecting and choosing items for his newspaper to carry or to omit. It is his role in this important aspect of the newsgathering process that puts him in contact with items on which one has to choose sides (such as those with bilingual or bicultural implications) and this makes him a "political" actor.

Professor Eggleston's article outlines some further problems of being an editor.

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<sup>1</sup> Eggleston, W., Report, Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1951, P. 48.



Editors may, in their zeal for national understanding, their pride in national achievement, soft-pedal or censor outright reports of events which seem likely to cause sectional controversy and national ill-feeling. And they are under some pressure to play up national news of a constructive and flattering nature.<sup>1</sup>

The present study attempted to measure indirectly the extent to which the editors felt they were under pressure to alter their coverage of French-English relations. Hence, several questions were framed with the purpose of ascertaining information about newspaper staffing policies and problems in covering bilingual matters. Also, they -- and the Gallery reporters -- were questioned about the problems they faced in getting information from Federal Government departments in the language in which they write. Because this information was not obtainable by other techniques, the survey approach was thought to be the most appropriate means of gathering this data.

#### Plans to Expand Ottawa Coverage

A series of questions, asked only to editors of both language groups, attempted to gain information as to the plans of the various papers to increase or re-organize their local, Ottawa, and out-of-town staffs within the next two years. Of particular concern was the question of a paper's

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<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.





actual or planned Ottawa bureau and the problems or necessity of employing bilingual journalists at various geographical posts in the different organizations. Such posts, of course, it was felt, would likely involve the production or distribution of news about "bilingual" or "bicultural" matters.

Most English editors seemed certain that they would not be enlarging, expanding or re-organizing their papers' Ottawa bureaux within the next two years, while French editors seemed to be unsure of any policy decision in this matter. In a few cases, some additions may be expected in the next two years. (See Table 5.1)

TABLE 5.1

EDITORS' AWARENESS OF POSSIBLE ENLARGEMENT, EXPANSION OR REORGANIZATION OF THEIR PAPERS' OTTAWA STAFFS (IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS), BY LANGUAGE GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

	YES - Plan to	NO - Not plan to	Don't know	TOTAL
English Editors (N.79)	21.5	57.0	21.5	100%
French Editors (N.46)	12.0	10.9	76.1	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 119 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





English Editors seemed to be most sure about future alterations or additions to their staffs. In fact, 21% of the English editors expressed knowledge of definite plans by their papers or agencies to do this within a two-year period. Only 13% of the French editors expressed certainty about an addition to their Ottawa Staff. While only 22% of the English editors were uncertain as to the policy, 76% of the French editors were unsure.

#### Perceived Needs and Plans for Bilingual Journalists

When queried as to whether they saw any need to attract bilingual journalists to their papers, English editors seemed to be more conscious of a pressure to have bilingual journalists on their staffs than were French editors. (Table 5.2) While only 22% of the French editors saw such a need, more than half of the English saw the need. On the other hand, while only 11% of the French editors saw no need for attracting bilingual staff, a large 32% of the English felt there was no need.

TABLE 5.2

EDITORS' OPINIONS ON NEED TO ATTRACT BILINGUAL JOURNALISTS TO THEIR PAPERS, BY LANGUAGE GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

	YES - See need	NO - See no need	No opinion	TOTAL
English Editors (N.80)	55.0	31.3	13.7	100%
French Editors (N.46)	21.7	10.9	67.4	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 120 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



Thus, it seems either that the French editors were less aware of the deficiencies in their staffs than were the English, that they did not see any problem or special need to acquire bilingual staff or, more probably, that their staffs were already relatively bilingual.

While the previous question asked about a perceived need to attract bilingual journalists, three questions inquired about definite plans to increase the number of bilingual journalists in various posts or bureaux throughout Canada. The first question sought information on definite plans to increase or not to increase the numbers of bilingual journalists in "Ottawa" in the next two years.

Of those offering information as to definite policy decisions in this matter, only one in four said that their papers had such plans. (See Table 5.3)

TABLE 5.3

EDITORS' AWARENESS OF THEIR PAPERS' PLANS TO INCREASE NUMBER OF BILINGUAL JOURNALISTS IN "OTTAWA" (IN NEXT TWO YEARS), BY LANGUAGE GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

	YES - Intends to	NO - Does not intend to	TOTAL
English Editors (N.62)	17.7	82.3	100%
French Editors (N.11)	36.4	63.6	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 121 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



Interestingly, 36% of the French editors replying said their papers planned to increase the number of bilingual journalists in Ottawa, while only 18% of the English editors were aware of any such policy of their papers.

It would seem that the French editors, who are in positions to influence to some extent such staffing arrangements, are keener on having bilingual men in Ottawa than their English associates or else have publishers who are keener on bilingual correspondents in Ottawa than are English publishers.

The next question sought to find out about definite plans to increase the number of bilingual reporters in the papers' home offices, within the next two years.

Once again, about one third of the editors who knew their papers' policies in this matter, said that their papers intended to increase their bilingual staff "at home".

(See Table 5.4)

TABLE 5.4

EDITORS' AWARENESS OF THEIR PAPERS' PLANS TO INCREASE NUMBER OF BILINGUAL JOURNALISTS IN THEIR PAPERS' "HOME" OFFICES (IN NEXT TWO YEARS), BY LANGUAGE GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

	YES - Intends to	NO - Does not intend to	TOTAL
English Editors (N.64)	25.0	75.0	100%
French Editors (N.13)	46.2	53.8	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 121 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





A larger proportion of French editors than English editors reported that their papers intended to increase their bilingual staff in the papers' home offices. While only 25% of the English editors with definite information expressed certainty as to this sort of move, 46% of the French editors who were cognizant of their papers' staffing policies in this field, reported that their papers planned to augment its staff.

When the interview turned to inquire about the papers' policies with regard to increasing bilingual staff in their out-of town (non-Ottawa) bureaux, one in four of the editors said that their papers intended to add more bilingual reporters to these offices. (See Table 5.5)

TABLE 5.5

EDITORS' AWARENESS OF THEIR PAPERS' PLANS TO INCREASE NUMBER OF BILINGUAL JOURNALISTS IN THEIR PAPERS' (NON-OTTAWA) OUT-OF-TOWN BUREAUX (IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS), BY LANGUAGE GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

	YES - Intend to	NO - Does not intend	TOTAL
English Editors (N.59)	16.9	83.1	100%
French Editors (N.11)	36.4	63.6	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 121 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



The majority of both English and French editors whose papers had such bureaux, or who had knowledge of plans to create such bureaux or expand existing bureaux, said that their papers did not intend to increase the bilingual staffs in these offices. However, 36% of the French editors knew of their papers' plans to augment their staffs but only 17% of the English editors knew of any such plans.

These decisions may be a result of the relative lack of difficulty the editors and their staffs have in obtaining information in their own language from the Federal government. It appears that the majority of both the French and the English almost never or only occasionally have difficulty. (Table 5.6)

However, French-speaking journalists reported that they had had greater difficulty than their English-speaking compatriots in obtaining information from Federal Government departments in the language in which they were writing. There did not appear to be any sharp tendency for editors to have had more or less difficulty than the Gallery men in obtaining this sort of information.

Overall, almost twice as high a proportion of English journalists as French journalists had "never" had difficulty obtaining information from "Ottawa" departments in the language in which they wrote.



TABLE 5.6

FREQUENCY OF JOURNALISTS' DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING INFORMATION  
FROM FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS OR AGENCIES IN THE  
LANGUAGE IN WHICH THEY WRITE, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL  
GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Often have difficulty	Sometimes or occasionally have difficulty	Never have difficulty	No answer	Total
English Editors (N.76)	6.6	22.3	68.4	2.6	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	0	32.0	68.0	0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	2.0	36.0	60.0	2.0	100%
English Journalists (N.151)	4.0	28.5	65.5	2.0	100%
French Editors (N.46)	10.9	47.8	30.4	10.9	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	0	13.3	86.7	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	55.6	33.3	0	11.1	100%
French Journalists	14.3	38.6	38.6	8.5	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 118 of interview schedule. See Appendix A of this report.





When "occupation" was controlled, it was found that 69% of the English editors "never" had difficulty, while only 30% of their French peers "never" had difficulty. Similarly, in the Ottawa Gallery, 60% of the English, but none of the French "never" had difficulty. Interestingly, however, in the case of Provincial Gallery journalists, the pattern was reversed, with 68% of the English legislative reporters "never" having had difficulty getting information in English from Federal Government departments or agencies, while 87% of the French (i.e. Quebec) correspondents said they "never" had difficulty getting information from Ottawa in the French language.

Therefore, the greater difficulties among the French pertains for editors and Federal Gallery personnel but not for the Quebec city journalists. Ottawa Gallery journalists in both language groups had lower percentage scores in terms of "never" having difficulties than did their editors or legislative colleagues.

The fact that French Gallery reporters in Quebec have less difficulty getting information in French than do their Ottawa-based associates might suggest that these persons do not often seek information from Ottawa departments. This idea is reinforced by the fact that Ottawa Gallery reporters, of both language groups i.e. the reporters "on-the-spot," and particularly French Ottawa newsmen, seemed to have the





greatest difficulty in getting information in the language in which they write. The fact that no French Ottawa journalist -- but 87% of French Provincial journalists -- "never" had difficulty suggests that the location of work plays a significant part in the frequency with which a reporter experiences difficulty in getting pertinent material from the Federal sources.

### Summary

In summary, then, although the English editors were more certain that their Ottawa staff would be expanded in the near future and felt more need to attract bilingual journalists than the French did, yet when it came to definite plans to hire bilingual journalists few English editors thought they would. Likewise, only a minority of French editors could see future expansions of their bilingual staff.

Understandably, French Ottawa journalists have greatest and French Quebec journalists have least difficulty in obtaining information in the language in which they write from Federal Government departments.

Hence, in this brief case study of the political dimension to the Editor's role, it is clear that even though he feels under pressure to expand his coverage of a topic (French-English relations) and hire more bilingual reporters, he is able to withstand it. Even with the difficulties in obtaining stories from sources who speak his language, he feels he can obtain enough news from his staff.



## PART III

## THE NEWSPAPER



## CHAPTER VI

### THE FUNCTION OF THE NEWSPAPER

#### The Views of the Experts

A brief survey of some of the functions of the newspaper as seen by a few of the leading writers on mass communications or journalism might help to put this discussion of the function of the press in better perspective, although it can hardly lead to a definite agreement on what the functions "really" are.<sup>1</sup>

Different functions of the newspaper have been suggested by different individuals, and these definitions, of course, are to a large extent influenced by social, psychological, cultural, linguistic, economic, or other considerations which bear on the individual defining them. Nevertheless, while there are many such suggested functions of a newspaper, there appear to be several quite "popular" ones. Thus, Harold Lasswell, an American political scientist, classifies the functions of the press or the newspaper into three broad categories. He writes of three major activities of communications: surveillance of the environment, (i.e. handling the news); evaluating the parts of society in responding to the environment (i.e. prescribing or

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<sup>1</sup> Function rather than role, is used here to refer to the major activities of an organization or institution, as distinct from the roles of the individuals in the organization.





editorialising); and transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next (i.e. education).<sup>1</sup>

There also are several more personal uses of newspapers which have been identified. For example in 1945, Berelson took advantage of a newspaper strike in New York City to find out what people "missed" when they did not receive their newspaper. One clearly identifiable function of the newspaper for these persons, he reports, was as a means of information on routine happenings, - such as details of local radio and motion picture performances, advertisements for sales by local stores, or news of deaths or the latest fashions. When people "missed" their newspaper they were actually missing a tool for daily living.<sup>2</sup>

Another suggested function of mass communicated news is to bestow prestige on individuals who take the trouble to keep informed about events. To the extent that being informed is considered important by society, people who conform to this norm enhance their prestige within the group.

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<sup>1</sup> H. Lasswell in L. Bryson (Edit.). The Communication of Ideas, Harpers, New York, 1948. A fourth category, entertainment or amusement is oftentimes added.

<sup>2</sup> Berelson, B., "What Missing the Newspaper Means", in P. Lazarsfeld and F. Stanton (Edits.), Communications Research 1948-1949, Harper, New York, 1949. Pp. 111-129.



Merton has suggested that there are two types of individual who select news as a focus of attention. The first type, who might be called a "local influential", selects local news as his main centre of attention. The second type, a "cosmopolitan influential", focusses his attention on national or international society and politics.<sup>1</sup> People tend to specialize in one or other of these fields and can gain respect from their colleagues because of their expertise.

Merton and Lazarfeld suggest two other functions of mass communicated news.<sup>2</sup> These are status conferral and the enforcement of social norms. The first function, status conferral, means that news reports about a member of society may enhance his prestige, and thus the power of the mass media may confer high public status on an individual. The second function is exemplified in such phenomena as newspaper crusades which focus public attention on norm violation. In these crusades, certain facts which may have been known privately by individual citizens are disclosed to the public. This creates a condition under which most individuals must condemn the violations and support public rather than private standards of

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1 Merton, R.K., "Patterns of Influence: A Study of Interpersonal Influence and of Communication Behaviour in a Local Community", Lazarfeld and Stanton, op. cit. Pp. 180-219.

2 Lazarfeld, P., and Merton, R.K., "Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action", in L. Bryson (Edit.) The Communication of Ideas, Random House, 1954. Pp. 95-118.



morality. Thus, mass communicated news may provide social control in large urbanized societies where urban anonymity has weakened informal face-to-face detection and control of deviant behaviour.

News reports also can have socially disruptive effects. Uncensored reports may threaten the structure of the society or uninterpreted warnings about danger in the environment may lead to panic. Information on dangers in the environment also may heighten anxieties within the audience. Too much news may overwhelm individuals who may turn to matters in their private lives over which they have greater control.<sup>1</sup> Access to certain types of mass communicated news may cause "narcotization" or apathy on the part of the recipients of the news.

Other writers have viewed the functions of mass communications in world perspective. For example, experts on international mass communications have classified the communication systems of the world into four major groups.<sup>2</sup>

Under the first type are placed the communications systems of Communist countries. These systems are committed to relaying Communist philosophy and policy to the masses; to rallying

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See for example Kris, E., Leites, N., "Trends in Twentieth Century Propaganda", in G. Roheim, (Edit.) Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences, International Universities Press, New York, 1947.

2

Peterson T., "Social Responsibility Theory" in Siebert F., Peterson T., and Schramm W., Four Theories of the Press, University of Illinois, Chicago, 1963.





support for the party or the government; and to raising the cultural level of the people. To reach these goals the party or the government exercises relatively strict control over the media and their operation.

The authoritarian type was characteristic of earlier periods in Europe and is still followed in some countries, notably less industrialised ones. This view holds that the media are to remain clearly subordinate to the state and are to be restrained from major criticism of the government through such procedures as licensing or censorship.

The Libertarian view dominates the Anglo-American and Western countries. This theory emphasizes the freedom of the media, particularly from government control. This theory, suggests Professor Kesterton, is founded on the faith that through unrestricted clash and interplay of opinion in the free market place of ideas and through a self-righting process, truth will emerge.<sup>1</sup> The Libertarians hold, with Mill, that any and all opinions are entitled to an expression or a hearing. To suppress an opinion may be to suppress the truth. The state exists only to ensure the welfare of the individual. Many writers claim that the Libertarian theory has not worked. A recent writer codifies the various faults that have afflicted it:

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Kesterton, W.H., "The Confusing Criticisms of the Press" Queen's Quarterly, Vol. LXIX, No. 2, Summer 1962.





The themes of twentieth century criticism, in general, have been these: 1. The press has wielded its enormous power for its own ends. The owners have propagated their own opinions, especially in matters of politics and economics, at the expense of opposing views. 2. The Press has been subservient to big business and at times has let advertisers control editorial policies and editorial content. 3. The Press has resisted social change. 4. The Press has often paid more attention to the superficial and sensational than to the significant in its coverage of current happenings and its entertainment has often been lacking in substance. 5. The Press has endangered public morals. 6. The Press has invaded the privacy of individuals without just cause. 7. The Press is controlled by one socio-economic class, ...the "business class", and access to the industry is difficult for the newcomer; therefore, the free and open market of ideas is endangered.<sup>1</sup>

If the Libertarian type is unworkable, then other writers have advanced a Social Responsibility theory as an alternative.

It accepts the role of the press in servicing the political system, in enlightening the public, in safeguarding the liberties of the individual: but it represents the opinion that the press has been deficient in performing those tasks. It accepts the role of the press in servicing the economic system, but it would not have the task take precedence over such other functions as promoting the democratic processes or enlightening the public. It accepts the role of the press in furnishing entertainment but with the provision that the entertainment be "good" entertainment. It accepts the need for the press as an institution to remain financially self-supporting, but if necessary it would exempt certain individual media from having to earn their way in the market place.<sup>2</sup>

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Peterson T., "Social Responsibility Theory" in Siebert F., Peterson T., and Schramm, W., Four Theories of the Press, University of Illinois, Chicago 1963. P. 178.

2

Ibid., Pp. 74-75.



These leading authorities have suggested a wide variety of functions of the press. These views will provide appropriate reference points against which the views of the Canadian newsmen interviewed in this study may be examined.

In many cases the views expressed by these journalists closely resembled those enunciated above. In other cases they do not. However, two points should be kept in mind. The present study, unlike the ones cited above, attempts to quantify the views of these Canadian "experts." Secondly, the respondents are participants -- not outside observers -- in the Canadian -- not the United States or European -- newsgathering and transmitting process.

Keeping these points in mind, we can examine the views of our Canadian journalists on their conceptions of the function of the newspaper or news agency.

### The Views of the Journalists

After extensive unstructured interviews with working journalists, three main functions of the newspaper were identified: to entertain, to inform, and to guide or lead opinion. In the actual interview situation, the responding journalists were asked to suggest other possible functions of a newspaper or agency. About half of the respondents proposed other functions, most of which were very close to the above three.



The three proposed functions were ranked by respondents who were asked to name them as their readers would see them, as their papers would see them and as they themselves saw them. It should be remembered that each of the above groups is also an important reference group or "role sector" whose demands may influence the behaviour of the journalist.

The questions referred to the functions of a "typical" or hypothetical newspaper or news agency rather than asking for a description of a specific paper's functions.

#### Journalists on Their Readers

The first part of this question asked the journalists to designate the order of importance which they felt their readers would attach to the three functions. The percentages of the journalists placing each of the three functions in the first place are presented in Table 6.1.

As the Table shows, there appeared to be no major occupational difference, but a quite strong language difference present. Thus, while nine per cent of the English thought their readers would place the entertaining function first, 17% of the French held this view, and while only one English journalist (.7 per cent) felt his readers would place the guiding function first, 19 per cent of French newsmen felt that this was so. Also, while nine out of 10 English thought their readers attached primary importance to the informing function, six out of 10 of the French newsmen felt this.





TABLE 6.1

JOURNALISTS' VIEWS OF THEIR READERS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE OF THE VARIOUS FUNCTIONS OF THE NEWSPAPER, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- <sup>1</sup> PERCENTAGE OF THOSE RANKING THE FUNCTION IN FIRST PLACE

<u>By Language</u>	<u>Entertaining</u>	<u>Guiding</u>	<u>Informing</u>
English Journalists	9.2	0.7	90.9
French Journalists	17.1	18.6	62.9
<hr/>			
<u>By Occupation</u>			
Editors	10.3	8.7	81.0
Press Gallery Journalists	13.5	3.1	83.7

<sup>1</sup>

Because the base figures for percentaging may vary slightly from column to column the horizontal percentages may not total exactly 100.

Thus, while a majority of both English and French journalists perceived that their readers would value the informing function most, a much larger proportion of the English than the French felt that this was true. On the other hand, the French seemed to have felt that their readers would attach more importance to the guiding and entertaining functions than did the English.

Now, to deal with each of the functions in turn.

The first function to be ranked on behalf of the readers was the entertaining function.



TABLE 6.2

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE THEIR READERS ATTACH TO THE "ENTERTAINING" FUNCTION, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

<u>By Language</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>
English Journalists (N.152)	9.2	45.4	45.4	100%
French Journalists (N.70)	17.1	30.0	52.9	100%
<hr/>				
<u>By Occupation</u>				
Editors (N.126)	10.3	40.5	49.2	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.96)	13.5	40.6	45.9	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 88A of the interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.

As may be seen from Table (6.2), the "entertaining" function seemed to be a second or third choice of most respondents. While there seemed to be only slight occupational differences, there appeared to be some fairly significant language differences. A larger proportion of French than English journalists ranked the function first. Conversely, over 45% of the English but only 30% of the French placed it second. Language and occupational differences among third choices were slight.



Detailed examination confirmed that a larger proportion of French journalists than English in each occupational group tended to feel their readers would rank the function first. A consistently larger percentage of English than French at every occupational level placed it second. However, only about one in 10 of all the respondents thought their readers would place first priority on this function.

The second function which the respondents were asked to rank for their readers was the "guiding" or "opinion leading" function.

As with the "entertaining" function, the journalists tended to feel that their readers would rank this function second or third. (Table 6.3). There appeared to be only slight occupational differences but a very interesting language difference emerged. While only one English journalist placed this function first, 13 (19%) of the French did so. Conversely, while 54% of the English placed it last, only 39% of the French did so. English journalists, then, tended to put the function lower in priority than did the French newsmen.

The third function which the respondents were asked to rank in the order which they felt their readers would place it was the "informing" function.

Four out of five journalists felt their readers would place the "informing" function first, and only three per cent of the newsmen felt their readers would place it after the other two suggested



TABLE 6.3

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE THEIR READERS ATTACH TO THE "GUIDING" OR "OPINION-LEADING" FUNCTION, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	1	2	3	Total
English Journalists (N.153)	0.7	45.8	53.5	100%
French Journalists (N.70)	18.6	42.9	38.5	100%
<hr/>				
By Occupation				
Editors (N.126)	8.7	45.2	46.1	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.97)	3.1	44.3	52.6	100%

<sup>1</sup>

Based on answers to Question 88A of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.

functions. (Table 6.4). There did not seem to be any marked occupational differences present but there was an interesting language difference. While 91% of the English journalists felt their readers would place the "informing" function first, only 63% of the French newsmen felt that this would be true for their readers. On the other hand, while only nine per cent of the English thought their readers would place it second, 29% of the French thought their readers would put it second.

Thus, while journalists of both groups ranked the "informing" function highest, English journalists ranked it higher than did French journalists. The language difference showed through for each





TABLE 6.4

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE THEIR READERS ATTACH TO THE "INFORMING" FUNCTION, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

<u>By Language</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>
English Journalists (N.154)	90.9	8.5	0.6	100%
French Journalists (N.70)	62.9	28.6	8.7	100%
<hr/>				
<u>By Occupation</u>				
Editors (N.126)	81.0	14.3	4.7	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.98)	83.7	15.3	1.0	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 88A of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.

occupational group. More English than French in each occupational group ranked the function first. Thus, while 93% of the English editors felt their readers would rank the function first, 61% of the French editors felt their readers would do so, and while 92% of the English Provincial Gallery reporters felt their readers would place this function first, 60% of the French legislative reporters thought their readers would place the function there. Interestingly, too, the French Ottawa correspondents, 78% of whom placed the function first, constitute, in percentage terms, the largest French-speaking group who felt their readers would rank the function first.



### Journalists Own Views

A second part of this question asked respondents to rank the three functions in the order in which they personally felt were the most important. (See Table 6.5).

Once again, as in the part of the question dealing with the newsmen's views on their readers' conceptions, there were found to be only very slight occupational differences present when the newsmen ranked the functions according to their own preferences. However, language differences were quite noticeable.

While only seven per cent of the English journalists placed the guiding function first, 26% of the French did so. While 70% of the French placed the informing function first, 92% of the English newsmen placed it first.

Thus, it also would seem that in the case of the journalists' own preferences as in their views of their readers' preferences, the French preferred the guiding function more than the English and a larger proportion of the English than French preferred the informing function.



TABLE 6.5

JOURNALISTS' OWN CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE  
OF THE VARIOUS FUNCTIONS OF THE NEWSPAPER, (I) BY  
LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- PERCENTAGE  
OF THOSE RANKING THE FUNCTION IN FIRST PLACE<sup>1</sup>

<u>By Language</u>	<u>Entertaining</u>	<u>Guiding</u>	<u>Informing</u>
English Journalists	1.3	7.1	91.6
French Journalists	4.3	25.7	70.0

---

<u>By Occupation</u>			
Editors	2.4	14.3	83.3
Press Gallery Journalists	2.1	11.2	86.9

<sup>1</sup> Because the base figures for percentaging may vary slightly from column to column, the horizontal percentages may not total exactly 100.

Each function now will be examined in detail.

Once again, only a minimal occupational differences seemed to be present when respondents ranked the entertaining function according to their own preferences. (Table 6.6). Gallery journalists tended to rank the entertaining function slightly more highly than the editors did. However, there was one rather interesting language difference'. A larger share of French than English journalists placed it last. All in all, the function was placed third by about eight out of 10 of the respondents. Few journalists placed it first.





TABLE 6.6

JOURNALISTS' OWN CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF  
IMPORTANCE OF THE "ENTERTAINING" FUNCTION, (I) BY LANGUAGE  
AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

<u>By Language</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>
English Journalists (N.153)	1.3	22.2	76.5	100%
French Journalists (N.70)	4.3	11.4	84.3	100%
<hr/>				
<u>By Occupation</u>				
Editors (N.126)	2.4	17.5	80.1	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.97)	2.1	20.6	77.3	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 88B of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.

When the "guiding" or "opinion leading" function was ranked according to the journalist's personal preferences, there seemed to be only slight occupational differences. Once again though, interesting language differences appeared. These may be seen by examining Table 6.7.

While more than a quarter of the French ranked the function first, only seven per cent of the English placed it in this position. The language difference is largely to be accounted for by the much larger proportion of French than English editors



who assigned the opinion-making function to first place. However, in the other occupational groups as well, the French were

TABLE 6.7

JOURNALISTS' OWN CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF  
IMPORTANCE OF THE "GUIDING" OR "OPINION-LEADING"  
FUNCTION, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION  
-- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	1	2	3	Total
English Journalists (N.154)	7.1	70.8	22.1	100%
French Journalists (N.70)	25.7	61.4	12.9	100%
<hr/>				
By Occupation				
Editors (N.126)	14.3	68.3	17.4	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.98)	11.2	67.4	21.4	100%

<sup>1</sup>

Based on answers to Question 88B of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.

slightly more likely than their English colleagues to make this function their personal first choice. However, it should be kept in mind, that nine out of 10 of the English and seven out of 10 of the French relegated the "guiding" activity to second or third place.



TABLE 6.8

JOURNALISTS' OWN CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE OF THE "INFORMING" FUNCTION, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

<u>By Language</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>
English Journalists (N.155)	91.6	7.1	1.3	100%
French Journalists (N.70)	70.0	27.1	2.9	100%

---

<u>By Occupation</u>				
Editors (N.126)	83.3	14.3	2.4	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.99)	86.9	12.1	1.0	100%

---

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 88B of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.

There seemed to be only slight occupational differences with regard to the ways editors and Gallery journalists ranked the "informing" function. (Table 6.8). However, there was an apparent language difference. While nine out of 10 English journalists placed this function first, only seven out of 10 French newsmen did so.

Once again, as when the respondents were asked to place the three functions in the order in which they thought their readers would locate them, only eight per cent of the English but 30%



of the French tended to place it in second or third place. The fact that the French editors gave less weight to this function largely accounts for the smaller proportion of French than English first place scores. About 61% of French editors compared to 96% of English editors put this function in first place. Indeed, the Press Gallery reporters -- both French and English -- gave nearly identical emphasis to this activity: between 86 and 89 per cent in both galleries placed it in first place. Therefore, the apparent language difference washes out when comparisons are made between French and English in the same occupation.

#### Journalists on Their Papers

The journalists also were asked to state the order of importance they felt their papers would attribute to the guiding, entertaining and informing functions. (Table 6.9).

Here, too, while occupational differences were very slight, the percentage of French journalists who felt their papers would rank the guiding function first was considerably higher than for English journalists who felt that this was the place their papers would allot to this function. As in the two previous parts of this Chapter, a majority of both English and French journalists felt their papers would place the informing function first. However, the percentage of English journalists (94%) doing so was considerably higher than the percentage of French newsmen (71%) doing so.

Again, it would seem that the French journalists, whether seeing the three functions through their own eyes or through the





TABLE 6.9

JOURNALISTS' VIEWS OF THEIR PAPERS' CONCEPTIONS  
OF THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE OF THE VARIOUS FUNCTIONS  
OF THE NEWSPAPER, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY  
OCCUPATION -- PERCENTAGE OF THOSE RANKING THE  
FUNCTION IN FIRST PLACE<sup>1</sup>

<u>By Language</u>	<u>Entertaining</u>	<u>Guiding</u>	<u>Informing</u>
English Journalists	4.7	4.6	94.2
French Journalists	7.4	22.1	70.6

---

<u>By Occupation</u>			
Editors	5.6	11.9	84.9
Press Gallery Journalists	5.4	7.5	89.6

1

Because the base figures for percentaging may vary slightly from column to column, horizontal percentages may not total exactly 100.

eyes of their editors or readers, attached more importance to the guiding function than did the English reporters. English newsmen, more than the French opted for the informing function.

Now, to look at the three functions in detail.

Table 6.10 , showing the way respondents felt their papers would rank the "entertaining" function, points to some suggestive language and occupational differences. While 52% of the Gallery reporters thought their papers would place the function last, 70% of the editors thought their papers would place it there.



Also, while 69% of the French reporters felt their papers would put it third, 59% of the English reporters thought that their papers would rank it third. It seems then that English reporters and Press Gallery writers feel that their papers emphasize the entertainment value of the news more so than do French reporters and editors respectively.

TABLE 6.10

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE THEIR NEWSPAPERS ATTACH TO THE "ENTERTAINING" FUNCTION, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

<u>By Language</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>
English Journalists (N.150)	4.7	36.0	59.3	100%
French Journalists (N.68)	7.4	23.5	69.1	100%
<hr/>				
<u>By Occupation</u>				
Editors (N.126)	5.6	24.6	69.8	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.92)	5.4	42.4	52.2	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 88C of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.

The journalists then were asked to rank the "guiding" or "opinion leading" function in the order in which they thought their papers would place it.



While only five per cent of the English journalists felt their papers would rank this function first, 22% of the French felt their papers would. (Table 6.11) While 28% of the French estimated that their papers would place this function third, 38% of the English thought this would be the case. Also, 56% of

TABLE 6.11

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE THEIR NEWSPAPERS ATTACH TO THE "GUIDING" OR "OPINION-LEADING" FUNCTION, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

<u>By Language</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>
English Journalists (N.151)	4.6	57.7	37.7	100%
French Journalists (N.68)	22.1	50.0	27.9	100%
<hr/>				
<u>By Occupation</u>				
Editors (N.126)	11.9	60.3	27.8	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.93)	7.5	48.4	44.1	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 88C of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.

the Gallery journalists but 72% of the editors felt their papers would place the function first or second. Hence, the French more than their English counterparts, and editors more so than Gallery workers seemed to feel their papers would emphasize the opinion making function of the news.





A more careful inspection of the findings calls for some slight modification to the above statement. Significantly, the French are more likely to assign first or second place to the opinion making function in each occupational group, except the Provincial Press Gallery. Here, the English journalists slightly lead the French: 60% of the English compared to 54% of French Provincial men feel their paper would like to play up its opinion shaping role, i.e., put it in first or second place.

The next Table records responses to the journalists' views of their papers' hypothetical ranking of the "informing" function.

Table 6.12 suggests that only some slight occupational differences and a partial language difference exists with regard to the informing function. While 94% of the English thought their papers would rank the "informing" function first, 71% of the French thought that their papers would do so. English editors obtained higher scores than French editors in placing the function first, as did English Gallery reporters compared to French Gallery reporters. However, it should be noted that the French Provincial scored higher than did the English Provincial newsmen in this regard. That is French Quebec reporters seem much more aware that the papers place the informing function first than do their French editorial or Ottawa colleagues or their English peers in the Toronto and Quebec Galleries.



Of note is the fact that 97.5 per cent of the English Editors claimed that their paper's placed the informing function above all else.

TABLE 6.12

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE THEIR NEWSPAPERS ATTACH TO THE "INFORMING" FUNCTION, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

<u>By Language</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>Total</u>
English Journalists (N.154)	94.2	5.2	0.6	100%
French Journalists (N.68)	70.6	26.5	2.9	100%
<hr/>				
<u>By Occupation</u>				
Editors (N.126)	84.9	14.3	0.8	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.96)	89.6	8.3	2.1	100%

<sup>1</sup>

Based on answers to Question 88C of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.

#### An Overview

In summary, in all three parts of the question, occupational differences were slight, particularly in terms of first choices. The majority of all groups named the prime function of the newspaper as keeping the public informed.

While in all three sets of "closed" questions, the information function was ranked first by the majority, there was



one interesting feature about this choice. As may be seen from the following Table (6.13), percentages naming it first seemed to increase when each set of questions was asked.

TABLE 6.13

PERCENTAGE OF JOURNALISTS RANKING THE "INFORMING"  
FUNCTION FIRST, BY LANGUAGE AND BY OCCUPATION --  
HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES

<u>By Language</u>	Readers	Self	Newspaper
English Journalists	91	92	94
French Journalists	63	70	71
<hr/>			
<u>By Occupation</u>			
Editors	81	83	85
Press Gallery Journalists	84	87	90
<hr/>			

Thus, it would seem that the journalists themselves placed the "informing" function midway between the ways they perceive their readers and their editors would place it. The journalists own scores were less than they felt the papers' managers would be and more than they felt the readers would be.

However, this trend was not apparent with regard to the guiding and entertaining functions.

It would seem that the journalists personally ranked the guiding function higher than they felt their editors or



readers would do so. This may be seen from the following Table.

TABLE 6.14

PERCENTAGE OF JOURNALISTS RANKING THE "GUIDING" FUNCTION FIRST, BY LANGUAGE AND BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES

<u>By Language</u>	Readers	Self	Newspaper
English Journalists	1	7	5
French Journalists	19	26	22
<hr/>			
<u>By Occupation</u>			
Editors	9	14	12
Press Gallery Journalists	3	11	8
<hr/>			

The "entertaining" function was consistently placed lower by the journalists than they felt their readers or papers would have placed it. This may be seen from the following Table. (See Table 6.15).

TABLE 6.15

PERCENTAGE OF JOURNALISTS RANKING THE "ENTERTAINING" FUNCTION FIRST, BY LANGUAGE AND BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES

<u>By Language</u>	Readers	Self	Newspaper
English Journalists	9	1	5
French Journalists	17	4	7
<hr/>			
<u>By Occupation</u>			
Editors	10	2	6
Press Gallery Journalists	14	2	5
<hr/>			





Therefore, it would appear that the journalists would personally prefer a stronger emphasis on the guiding or editorial function of their paper than they think their editors or readers would want. The journalists, it seems, would like to de-emphasise the entertaining function with which they felt their editors and readers were too much concerned.

### Other Functions of the Newspaper

In addition to the "informing", "entertaining" or "guiding" functions, the experts at the beginning of this Chapter suggest, many other possible functions of a newspaper or new agency could be mentioned. The interviews with the journalists were used to determine what the other functions might be. These functions can be seen as role sectors of the newspaper, i.e., as an activity performed for one of the significant "publics" of the paper.

Answers to the "open-ended" question: "What other functions might a paper (or agency) have?" were coded into five main categories or "role sectors". The coding scheme was the result, in the first instance, of the categories suggested in the theoretical statement (Chapter I, Diagram II). These were then applied and made more exact in the light of an examination of 25 English and 25 French interview schedules randomly selected and coded, by two coders, one French-speaking and one English-speaking. Agreement was reached on the various categories. This also was



the approach followed in selecting coding schemes for each of the open-ended questions employed in the study.<sup>1</sup>

The following are the coding categories that emerged:

1. Community Sector:

To promote a cause (e.g. moderation; harmony; civic consciousness) or to act as a public forum for the discussion of ideas or problems.

2. Owner Sector:

To make money, to operate as a business.

3. Reader Sector:

To educate or to promote culture (in the literary sense).

4. Business Community Sector:

To serve as a market place (i.e. carry advertising).

5. Citizen Sector:

To investigate or observe for the public; to be the "public's watchdog", or its "link" to government.

As may be seen in the following Table, the previous three sets of "closed-ended" ranking questions appear to have accounted for most conceivable functions. Thus, almost half of the respondents named no other function, and only four per cent could think of one that had not been provided by the coding scheme.

The journalists rarely saw the newspaper as **serving** business interests, either those of its owners or of the local business

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<sup>1</sup>

See Appendix D.



TABLE 6.16

JOURNALISTS' VIEWS ON A PAPER'S "OTHER FUNCTIONS", (I) BY LANGUAGE  
AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	Public Forum	Money-maker	Educational	Market Place	Observer of Government	Some Other Function	No Other Function	No Opinion	Total
English Journalists (N.154)	10.4	0.6	15.6	5.2	21.4	2.6	44.2	0	100%
French Journalists (N.71)	11.3	1.4	19.7	1.4	2.8	5.6	56.3	1.4	100%
<hr/>									
By Occupation									
Editors (N.127)	10.2	0.8	18.9	3.1	10.3	3.9	51.9	0.9	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.98)	11.2	1.0	14.3	5.1	22.4	3.1	42.9	0	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 89 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





community (Table 6.16). For them the primary concern of the newspaper was the community at large: to watch for governmental injustice, to educate readers, or to act as the vehicle for public opinion. Table 6.16 also suggests both language and occupational differences. While 21% of the English felt that a newspaper or news agency might be an "observer" or conscience of government (i.e., serve the citizen sector), only three per of the French newsmen suggested this function. While 22% of the Press Gallery reporters felt that this "watchdog" function was appropriate, only 10% of the editors did so.

A larger proportion of English journalists than French journalists in each occupational group tended to name the "Public Watchdog" function. Interestingly, no French but a fifth of the English Federal Gallery reporters mentioned this function. Only one French editor in 47 and one French Provincial Gallery reporter out of 15, but 15% of English Editors and 46% of English Provincial reporters did so. Other differences appeared to be very weak.

Nimmo also had found the "watchdog" function popular among his Washington journalists.

Within the broad context of service, newsmen recognized three tasks performed by the news media in the communication process. Most often cited ... the watchdog concept -- the view that the newsman is obligated to criticize government as "watchdog of the public".

We also encounter the attitude that the press is secondarily an informal arm of governmental action. Implicit is the



belief that reporters are the principal channels of political communication.

A final function perceived by the respondents is that of assessment of public opinion.<sup>1</sup>

The "watchdog" function also has been dealt with by Frederick Merwin who sees three functions of the press in carrying news of governmental activities: reporting, i.e., the selection of events which should be covered and transmitted; interpreting, i.e., the seeking of information required to put events in the proper perspective; and criticism, i.e., pointing out weak and questionable points in the conduct of public affairs.<sup>2</sup>

The inclination to have different conceptions of the function of the press was obvious in responses to this residual question. Here, three main additional functions were suggested by respondents: public forum, educator, and observer of government. Clearly, the "watchdog" function was more popularly held by English than by French newsmen studied. Interestingly, too, 48% of the respondents apparently felt that the main functions of the newspapers were to inform, to guide opinion, or to entertain.

#### Summary

Rather than confining our study of the function of the newspaper to an examination of the writings of authorities on

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<sup>1</sup> Nimmo, Newsgathering ... Pp. 35-36.

<sup>2</sup> Merwin, F.E., "The Reporting of Government News", in The Press and Society, G. Bird, and F. Merwin (Edits.), Prentice-Hall, New York, 1951. Pp. 214-219.



mass communication, the present study sought to examine the views of the respondents -- each a participant in a role relationship with a newspaper or news agency -- on what the function of the newspaper should be.

Interestingly, while a majority of both French and English journalists felt that their readers would value the informing function most, a larger proportion of English than French thought this was so. Conversely, the French more than the English seemed to have felt that their readers would attach more importance to the guiding and entertaining functions. Similarly, the French journalists personally and through the eyes of their papers, seemed to prefer the guiding function more than did the English.

It also would seem that the journalists might prefer a stronger emphasis on the guiding or editorial function of their paper than they think their papers or readers would want. It also appears that the newsmen would like to de-emphasize the entertaining function with which they feel their readers and papers are too concerned.

Half the respondents seemed to feel that the only functions of a newspaper were informing, entertaining and guiding. Of those additional functions suggested by the journalists the "watchdog" notion was held by a larger proportion of English than French respondents.





## CHAPTER VII

THE FUNCTION OF THE NEWSPAPER IN  
ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS

## Views of the Experts

Opinions on improving the performance of the mass media, and, consequently, the written press, in English-French relations are plentiful. Opinions on the present performance of the press of their functions in English-French relations do not appear lacking either. Two of the more critical views on the general functioning of the Canadian media are presented here. The first originates in an essay written for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Neil Compton suggests that the modern media in general present a "dilemma" for Canada.

Among the complex of economic and social developments which have contributed to this crisis of confederation, one of the most important has undoubtedly been the rise of the new media. It is a paradoxical fact that improved communications have helped to put an end not merely to the willingness of French-Canadians to accept an inferior role in the national economy, but also to certain convenient and mutual misunderstandings which have hitherto enabled the two communities to live peacefully side by side.<sup>1</sup>

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1

Compton, N., Biculturalism and the English Language Media, An Essay Prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1965. P. 7.





Thus, he feels the Canadian media both smooth and create differences.

The failure of present-day media to "bridge" the "two Canadas" is also seen by John Irving.

... It is necessary to emphasize here that none of the mass media, functioning either singly or in conjunction, has succeeded in establishing any genuine communication between the two solitudes.

Today a lively and creative culture exists in Quebec but English-Canadians are rarely aware of it. French-Canadian writers and books remain almost unknown in nine out of ten provinces. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation operates two networks for radio and television. Those who listen to the English station rarely listen to the French station and vice versa.<sup>1</sup>

Other comments have singled out a particular medium or particular aspects of area coverage for special attention. Thus, one person charged that "generally speaking, throughout the country, the press reports crises and nothing else".<sup>2</sup>

Still another observer complains that French-language newspapers were often "insular" in their coverage.

On the French side, there is an isolationist attitude again in relation to Canada as a whole. A readership survey, for instance, established that Montreal's largest daily was devoting one-third less space to Ottawa politics, and one-third more to Quebec politics, than the largest Montreal daily in the English-language. And then in the French-Canadian press, greater interest in Europe and European politics

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1  
Irving J., "The Problem of the Mass Media", in J. Irving (Edit.) The Mass Media in Canada, Ryerson, Toronto, 1962. P. 223.

2  
Proceedings, (unpublished) Canadian Institute On Public Affairs, Conference, Summer 1965. P. 110.



(is shown) at times than for politics in the rest of Canada. For instance, quite a few French dailies in Quebec, have an arrangement with a newspaper in Paris, for the exchange of information. Only one that I know has an arrangement with a newspaper in Toronto.<sup>1</sup>

However, not all comment has been critical of current press coverage. Thus, one journalist could say:

The Canadian Press, in spite of its shortcomings, has been trying to beef up its Quebec coverage; it carries, at least once a week, translations of editorials from French newspapers, editorials which they think will be of interest to English-speaking Canada, and many English-speaking papers carry these editorials. Larger newspapers and newspaper groups, are putting their own people into Quebec. The Globe and Mail, the Toronto Star, Southams, we ourselves at the moment are in the process of getting a bureau opened there.<sup>2</sup>

A second journalist felt that some criticisms were misdirected:

Well sensational news [from Quebec] is reported; the newspapers I think would be failing in their duty if they didn't report it. But it shouldn't be reported to the exclusion of course of other news".<sup>3</sup>

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1 Op. cit., P. 109.

2 Ibid., Pp. 115-116.

3 Loc. cit.



Nor was Professor Compton entirely critical of the written media's treatment of "English-French relations".

It is not surprising that the Canadian Press finds it difficult to serve both language groups equitably or that there is a movement afoot among French-Canadian publishers to pull out and form their own cooperative news service.

Nevertheless, the Canadian Press could be an important instrument of enlightened biculturalism if steps were taken to increase French-Canadian participation not only in the various domestic bureaux (especially Ottawa) but also abroad..... It is a clear case for some form of government subsidy.

In general, the better papers seem to have become still better, while the poorer ones have at least not got much worse. Along with the rise in journalistic standards the coverage of French Canadian affairs has greatly improved.

Apart from such a basic and elementary step as increasing the number of reporters assigned to French Canada, English newspapers are even beginning to pay some attention to French-Canadian culture. Several newspapers print weekly surveys of editorial opinion in the French press. The Globe and Mail has a regular monthly review of recent French Canadian books, and the Montreal Star prints weekly reviews of the local French theatre scene.<sup>1</sup>

The preceding comments, of course, were based, to a very great extent, on personal observation and insight. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, while valuing such opinions, also was interested in obtaining some detailed empirical data on the present-day performance of Canadian daily newspapers in the field of covering news relating

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Compton, N., Biculturalism and the English Language Media, An Essay Prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1965. Pp. 25-26.





to "English-French relations". Accordingly, the Commission used several content analyses to gauge the coverage given in Canadian daily newspapers to "bilingual" and "bicultural" matters, or to "English-French relations" or, to the amount of national and provincial news. The results of these studies have been to some extent incorporated in other sections of this report, notably Chapter II.

However, before presenting the Canadian journalists' own views on current newspaper coverage of "English-French relations", a brief look at some additional results of these projects might put the respondents' comments in better perspective.

According to one study, interest in "bilingual" or "bicultural" news or news about "English-French relations", as measured by a content analysis of newspaper coverage of certain "Bilingualism and Biculturalism" news items, became weaker as the distance of the paper from the central provinces increased.<sup>1</sup>

The writer concludes "the readers of each (newspaper) is thus confronted with a different image of the existing state and potential future of Canadian society and few will ever come into contact with conflicting images presented by papers of another city."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Qualter, T., #2, P. 465.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., P. 498.



This same Royal Commission report also found quite a significant difference in the average length of news stories published in French language papers and those published in English. French papers seemed to have more to say and took more space than English papers to say the same things.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, in a previous study for the Royal Commission, which involved a content analysis of the press treatment of the Commission's regional hearings, the same researcher also had found that French-language papers had given greater attention to "bilingual" or "bicultural" news than had English-language newspapers. For example, he notes that:

One obvious point apparent immediately from this table is the great interest shown by the French language press in the regional meetings of the Royal Commission...

French language papers filled the first five positions. One of these was the Moncton paper, L'Evangeline, which has a circulation of less than 10,000. This one small paper gave more than four times as much space to the regional hearings as the Vancouver Sun, which has some twenty times the circulation of L'Evangeline.<sup>2</sup>

Both the greater interest of the French language papers, and the lack of interest of the Western papers, may be seen from the following quotation:

The ten papers which are in the upper limits (over 35% positive material) include all six

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1 Qualter, T., #2, P. 465.  
2 Qualter, T., #1, P. 9.



French language papers. In terms of the percentage of total material coded as positive, the two most "positive" papers, by quite a wide margin, were the two French newspapers from outside Quebec, l'Evangeline (51.8% positive) and Le Droit (49.7% positive) while the two least positive were the two Winnipeg papers, the Winnipeg Free Press (25.8% positive) and the Winnipeg Tribune (23.4% positive).

The five papers with the greatest amount of negative material are all from western Canada.<sup>1</sup>

Qualter also found the "regionalism" of the Canadian press expressed in terms of certain issues. Thus, it was chiefly Western newspapers which gave proportionately the greatest attention to the various non-British, non-French ethnic groups in Canada and it was largely the Toronto newspapers who were interested in the debate over the establishment of a French language radio station in Toronto (CJBC).

The newspapers of the central provinces consistently gave greater coverage to "bilingual" or "bicultural" issues than did those of the other provinces.

By and large the centres of concern with the issues of this report were Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto and as one moved east and west from these cities interest faded rapidly. Nine of the ten papers paying the greatest attention to bilingualism and biculturalism came from one of these cities (The exception was Le Soleil of Quebec City) and only one of the papers from these centres was not in the top ten (Ottawa Journal, 13th). Fifteen of the twenty papers paying least

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<sup>1</sup>

Qualter, T., #2, P. 409.





attention were from the Maritimes, the Prairies or British Columbia and none of the papers from these regions was higher than tenth in terms of relative amount of space clipped and coded.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, he found that six of the seven English newspapers initiating the greatest amount of discussion on the value of the Commission were in Toronto or Ottawa.<sup>2</sup>

The 15 newspapers from the central provinces, he found, produced a total of 70 editorials on the value of the Commission, while the remaining 15 from the other provinces, had only 31 between them.<sup>3</sup>

Against this mixed "mosaic" of opinions and facts, the opinions of the journalists's on their paper's coverage of English-French relations may be examined.

#### Journalists' Views on The Coverage of English-French Relations

The majority of Canadian journalists were "satisfied" with their papers' news coverage of English-French relations. However one group, Federal Press Gallery journalists, were significantly less satisfied than were the others.

About 65% of both English and French journalists found coverage "adequate" or "very adequate". Parliamentary Press

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1 Qualter, T., #2, P. 464.

2 Ibid., P. 419.

3 Ibid., P. 464.





Gallery reporters in Ottawa were somewhat less enthusiastic. Only about 50% of all these journalists shared either of the above views. Within the Ottawa Press Gallery, differences between English and French Ottawa journalists were slight (Table 7.1).

English and French-speaking respondents generally tended to react similarly to the question about the adequacy of the kind or nature of news carried in their papers at present about English and French-Canadian relations. Twenty-nine per cent of the English respondents and 27% of the French respondents found their papers' coverage "not very adequate".

Looked at in terms of occupation more significant differences appeared. Sixty-nine per cent of the editors were "satisfied" (coverage was adequate or very adequate), while 58% of the Press Gallery journalists were satisfied. Among the Press Gallery journalists, further differences were located. Sixty-nine per cent of the Provincial journalists found coverage "adequate" or "very adequate", while 51% of Federal Gallery journalists did so. Percentages for French and English Federal Gallery journalists were comparable.

It would appear that generally there were greater differences between occupational groups than between language groups in terms of responses to this question. Ottawa Federal Press Gallery journalists of both language groups generally seemed to be less satisfied with news coverage on English-French relations than did the editors or Provincial Press Gallery journalists.



TABLE 7.1

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE NATURE OF THEIR PAPERS' COVERAGE OF ENGLISH-FRENCH CANADIAN RELATIONS, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Very Adequate	Adequate	Not Very Adequate	Qualified	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N.79)	10.1	60.8	25.3	2.5	1.3	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	12.0	60.0	24.0	0	4.0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	14.0	38.0	38.0	6.0	4.0	100%
English Journalists (N.154)	11.7	53.2	29.2	3.3	2.6	100%
French Editors (N.47)	10.6	55.3	25.3	8.5	0	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.14)	0	64.3	28.6	7.1	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	11.1	33.3	33.3	22.2	0	100%
French Journalists (N.70)	8.6	54.3	27.1	10.0	0	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 91 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



Four in ten of the English but 64% of the French felt that their papers "never" devoted more time and attention to acts of French-Canadian "extremism" than they would like (Table 7.2).

TABLE 7.2

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE FREQUENCY OF THEIR PAPERS' GIVING TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO "FRENCH-CANADIAN EXTREMISM", BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language and Occupational Groups	Fre- quently	Sometimes Occasion- ally	Never	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N.80)	8.8	51.3	40.0	0	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	8.0	52.0	40.0	0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	4.0	52.0	40.0	4.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.155)	7.1	51.6	40.0	1.3	100%
French Editors (N.47)	8.5	19.1	72.3	0	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	0	53.3	40.0	6.7	100%
French Federal Press Gallery (N.9)	0	44.4	55.6	0	100%
All French Journalists (N.71)	5.6	29.6	63.4	1.4	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 107 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.





Initially, there seemed to be differences between English-speaking and French-speaking respondents in two types of answers - "occasionally or sometimes" and "never". The percentage of English respondents choosing "occasionally or sometimes" was almost twice as large as that of the French-language journalists. Conversely, while three out of five French journalists chose "never" only two out of five English journalists did so. It appears, then, that French journalists, more so than their English counterparts, felt that their papers devoted a "proper" amount (i.e. they never gave too much emphasis) of attention to French-Canadian extremism.

The French editors much more often than did the other journalistic types felt that their papers never overdid this kind of extremist coverage. Only 40% of English editors, but 72% of their French colleagues, chose the "never" category.

When the "never" responses were analyzed in terms of occupation, an apparent difference between editors and Gallery journalists disappeared. Interestingly, a constant 40% of each English occupational group chose this response. The apparent occupational differences, then, may be explained in terms of generally higher percentages for the French, and particularly for French editors in answering "never".

In summary, then, there appeared to be no occupational or language difference between "never" responses, except for one special case. The French editors were significantly



more convinced that their papers did not play up French-Canadian extremism, than were any other group.

It was assumed that analysis of "never" responses to a question asking for the frequency of the journalist's papers coverage of "English-Canadian extremism" also might reveal some interesting information on journalists' views of the charge that the press "sensationalizes". There seemed to be two fairly marked language differences and one somewhat less marked occupational difference present among "never" responses (Table 7.3). While 45% of the English said their papers "never" gave too much attention to "English-Canadian extremism", 68% of the French said this was the case on their papers. While 46% of the Gallery newsmen said this, 50% of the editors did so. As may be seen in the Table, there also seemed to be one other language difference present. More than twice as high a proportion of English as French respondents said their papers "occasionally or sometimes" devoted too much time and attention to English-Canadian extremism than they personally would like.

These percentages so far seem to closely parallel those found in responses to the previous question, which sought the respondents' evaluations of the frequency with which their papers gave too much attention to "French-Canadian extremism". French journalists more than the English ones



TABLE 7.3

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE FREQUENCY OF THEIR PAPERS' GIVING TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO "ENGLISH-CANADIAN EXTREMISM" BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language and Occupational Groups	Frequently	Sometimes Occasionally	Never	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N.80)	2.5	51.3	45.0	1.3	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	12.0	40.0	40.0	8.0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	4.0	34.0	46.0	6.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.155)	4.5	47.1	44.5	3.9	100%
French Editors (N.47)	4.3	17.0	74.5	4.3	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	6.7	33.3	53.3	6.7	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	0	33.3	55.6	11.1	100%
All French Journalists (N.71)	4.2	22.6	67.6	5.6	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 108 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A of this report.





tended to consistently feel that their papers "never" gave too much time and attention to English-Canadian extremism. Both French and English "never" percentages generally were slightly higher in Table 7.3 than in Table 7.2 dealing with French-Canadian extremism. Here, too, French editors (75%) scored highest in the "never" column.

Thus, as regards both English and French "extremism", the French more than the English, were more sure that such extremism was not emphasized on their papers. This was particularly true of French editors.

#### What the Functions Should Be

Respondents were asked in an open-ended question, for their views on the function of the newspaper (of their own language group) in English-French relations. Replies were coded into five categories, and "no opinion" and "other answer" categories.<sup>1</sup>

The three most popular choices were: to report the activities and ideas of the other language group objectively, chosen by more than half of the respondents; to interpret one language group to the other, selected by more than one quarter of the newsmen; and to encourage moderation, chosen by only five per cent of the journalists.

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1

See coding instructions reproduced as Appendix D to this report.





TABLE 7.4

JOURNALISTS' VIEWS ON FUNCTION OF THE NEWSPAPER IN ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS -- JOURNALISTS  
"FIRST CHOICE" -- BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Report Other Group Objectively	Interpret One Language Group to the Other	Encourage Moderation	Emphasize Positive (Not Negative)	Promote Change	No Opinion	Other Answer	Total
English Editors (N.80)	47.5	32.5	5.0	1.3	1.3	3.8	8.8	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.23)	73.9	17.4	4.3	0.0	0.0	4.3	0.0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	70.0	18.0	6.0	2.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.153)	58.8	25.5	5.2	1.3	0.7	3.3	5.2	100%
French Editors (N.47)	38.3	36.2	6.4	0.0	4.3	6.4	8.5	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	26.7	33.3	0.0	6.7	0.0	26.7	6.7	100%
French Federal Press Gallery (N.9)	88.9	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100%
All French Journalists (N.71)	42.3	32.4	4.2	1.4	2.8	9.9	7.0	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 90 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



Table 7.4 suggests that while two out of five French journalists felt that the function of the French-language paper in English-French relations was to report objectively activities of the other group, three out of five English newsmen felt that this was the function of the English-language paper in English-French relations. However, when occupation was controlled, the major language difference suggested in the Table disappeared. The English in all occupational categories were not found to emphasize objective reporting very much more or less than their French equivalents.

While only 20% of the Gallery reporters thought that papers of their language group should interpret one language group to the other, 34% of the editors held this view. This difference held up across language groups so it appears that editors more so than the Gallery reporters felt that the function of the paper of their language group in English-French relations was to interpret one group to the other.

The next Table shows the distribution of second choice replies to the question asking for the journalists' views on the functions of the newspaper (of their own language group) in the field on English-French relations.

Table 7.5 based on the number of persons giving definite second functions, involves figures too small to permit detailed analysis for language or occupational differences. However,



TABLE 7.5

JOURNALISTS' VIEWS ON FUNCTION OF THE NEWSPAPER IN ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS -- JOURNALISTS  
 "SECOND CHOICE" -- (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	Report Other		Interpret One		Encourage		Emphasize		Promote		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
English Journalists (N.56)	9	16.0	11	19.6	15	26.8	5	8.9	7	12.5	9	16.0
French Journalists (N.14)	0	0.0	8	57.1	3	21.4	1	7.1	0	0.0	2	14.3
<hr/>												
<u>By Occupation</u>												
Editors (N.33)	3	9.0	8	24.2	7	21.2	4	12.1	3	9.0	8	24.2
Press Gallery Journalists (N.37)	6	16.2	11	29.7	11	29.7	2	5.4	4	10.8	3	8.1

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 90 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





there did appear to be several suggestive differences. Thus, while 57% of the French journalists and 30% of the Gallery reporters thought the papers should interpret one group to the other, only 20% of the English and 24% of the editors thought so. Also, it was found that the three most popular second-choice functions were the same three as those found in the analysis of first choice responses, although here the idea that newspapers should encourage moderation came much more to the fore as a function secondary to objective reporting.

Thus, it would seem safe to say that these journalists saw the function of the newspaper in English-French relations primarily in terms of reporting the other language group objectively or interpreting that group to their readers.

What The Functions of Their  
Newspaper should be

Another question in the interview schedule sought respondents' views on the function of their own newspapers in the field of English-French relations.

As in the previous question on the function of a newspaper, respondents' choices of functions fell within the same major two categories as before: to report events of the other language group objectively, selected by a majority of English respondents as their first choice, and to interpret



one language group to the other, which was the most popular selection of the French journalists. While three out of five English respondents felt that the function of their newspapers in English-French relations should be to report the ideas or events of the other language group objectively, this idea was held by only three out of 10 French journalists. (Table 7.6) While only one in five English chose it, two in five French journalists thought that their papers should interpret the other language group to their readers.

While only 44% of the editors felt their papers should objectively report the ideas or events of members of the other main language group, 60% of the Gallery reporters held this view and while 21% of the Gallery reporters felt their papers should follow an interpretative function, 32% of the editors held this view.

When looked at in greater detail, there were found to be strong language differences present. French journalists, irrespective of their occupational groups, more than their English peers seemed to prefer the suggested function of interpreting one language group to the other. English respondents, regardless of occupational group, seemed to prefer the function which called for their newspapers to report the ideas and events of the other language group "objectively".



TABLE 7.6

JOURNALISTS' VIEWS OF FUNCTION OF "THEIR" PAPER IN ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS -- "FIRST CHOICE" -- BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Report Other Group Objectively	Interpret One Language Group to the Other	Encourage Moderation	Emphasize Positive (Not Negative News)	Promote Change	No Opinion	Other Answer	Total
English Editors (N.79)	51.9	26.6	5.1	2.5	1.3	5.1	7.6	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	62.5	16.7	4.2	0.0	0.0	8.3	8.3	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	74.0	16.0	0.0	2.0	2.0	6.0	0.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.153)	60.8	21.6	3.3	2.0	1.3	5.9	5.1	100%
French Editors (N.47)	31.9	40.4	2.1	0.0	8.5	12.8	4.3	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery (N.15)	6.7	40.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	26.7	20.0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	55.6	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	100%
All French Journalists (N.71)	29.6	39.4	1.4	1.4	5.6	14.1	8.5	100%

192.

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 94 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





There also seemed to be a slight tendency for editors more than Gallery reporters to advocate the interpretative function for their newspapers.

Once again, the function most often cited as the one that the newspaper should perform in French-English relations was either reporting or interpreting the ideas and activities of the other language group to the journalists' readers.

After the journalists had been asked a question to ascertain what they felt should be the functions of their papers or agencies in the field of relations between English and French-speaking Canadians, they were asked a follow-up questions which sought to find out if they thought their papers or agencies could perform these functions more adequately. (Table 7.7).

While four out of five English-speaking journalists felt their papers could perform more adequately their functions in English-French relations, only two out of five French journalists shared this view. Conversely, while only about 15% of the English felt their papers could not perform their functions more adequately, over one half of the French journalists had the same opinion. Major language differences, accordingly, seemed to be present. Occupationally, while three out of five editors felt their papers could perform their roles





TABLE 7.7

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE PRESENT PERFORMANCE OF THEIR PAPERS' ROLES IN ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	YES - Could Perform Role More Adequately	NO - Could Not Perform Role More Adequately	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N. 79)	75.9	20.3	3.8	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N. 24)	91.7	4.2	4.2	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N. 50)	82.0	10.0	8.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.153)	80.4	14.4	5.2	100%
French Editors (N. 45)	31.1	60.0	8.9	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.13)	46.2	38.5	15.4	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N. 9)	66.7	33.3	0	100%
All French Journalists (N. 67)	38.8	52.2	9.0	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 95A of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



in English-French relations more adequately, about four out of five Gallery journalists said so.

When the apparent language differences were examined, in detail, it was found that a larger proportion of English journalists, in each occupational group, chose "yes" than did their French-language colleagues in the corresponding occupational groups. (See Table 7.7) Thus, while only 31% of the French editors said "yes", over twice as large a proportion -- 76% -- of their English brethren said "yes". The occupational group with the smallest percentage difference between language groups were the Federal Gallery journalists -- with a still large 82% for the English and a 67% for the French. Incidentally, the French Federal Gallery journalists were the only French occupational group with more than half saying "yes".

Conversely, "no" answers, i.e. those who felt their papers could not perform their role in English-French relations more adequately, consistently showed French journalists in every occupational group with significantly higher scores than their English peers.

Accordingly, the initial impression of greater dissatisfaction of English than French journalists with their papers' present performance in English-French relations was confirmed.



It also was found that editors, irrespective of language group, consistently scored lower percentages than did the Gallery reporters on "yes" answers. While 76% of English editors said "yes", 82% of English Ottawa reporters said "yes", and while 67% of French Ottawa reporters said "yes", only 31% of the French editors did so.

Therefore, Press Gallery writers, both Federal and Provincial, were relatively more dissatisfied with their papers' performance than were the editors and English newsmen were more dissatisfied than were French journalists.

A question which sought to find out from respondents how they felt their papers could better perform their functions in English-French relations, was asked of those newsmen who, in the previous question had stated that they felt their papers could perform their functions in English-French relations more adequately. However, since the answers from the French journalists were not available, the results were analyzed only for English respondents. See Table 7.8.

Table 7.8 shows that the two most popular suggestions by English journalists on how their papers or agencies could better perform their functions in English-French relations called either for adding to the number of staff or special correspondents providing news on French-speaking Canadians (25%) or for generally having more (agency) coverage





TABLE 7.8

ENGLISH-LANGUAGE JOURNALISTS' VIEWS ON HOW THEIR PAPERS COULD BETTER PERFORM THEIR FUNCTIONS  
IN ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS --- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	By more staff correspondents to cover "other" language group	By recognizing there is a problem in English-French relations	By avoiding sensationalism	By having more coverage of "other" language gp. (i.e. from agencies)	By having staff more familiar with "other language gp." problems	By having more resources	No suggestion or No		Total
							Some other Suggestion	No	
English Editors (N. 60)	26.7	3.3	6.7	28.3	1.7	11.6	15.0	6.7	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N. 22)	31.8	4.5	0	13.7	9.1	22.7	4.5	13.7	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N. 41)	19.5	4.9	2.4	41.5	17.1	12.2	0	2.4	100%
All English Journalists (N. 123)	25.2	4.1	4.1	30.1	8.1	13.8	8.1	6.5	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answer to Question 95B of interview schedule. See Appendix A of this report.



of the activities or ideas of French-speaking Canadians (30%). The third largest response group (14%) mentioned the rather vague idea of "having more resources", i.e. more income or staff for the media.

However, while the views of French-speaking journalists on how their papers or agencies might better perform their functions in English-French relations were not obtainable, there have been certain ideas and suggestions presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which might be relevant here. These suggestions have come from two main sources. The first source involves submissions by interested persons or groups on the functions and purposes of the media. The second involves Professor Compton's essay on the media expressly prepared for the Commission.

The recommendations to the Royal Commission of various individuals and groups on the function of the media, and on ways of improving the present functions of the media in English-French relations are summarized in the following Table.



REVUE DES MEMOIRES AYANT FAIT DES RECOMMANDATIONS  
SUR LES MOYENS DE COMMUNICATION POPULAIRES A LA  
COMMISSION ROYALE D'ENQUETE SUR LE BILINGUISME ET  
LE BICULTURALISME <sup>1</sup>

<u>Thème des recommandations</u>	Total
<u>JOURNAUX</u>	
1. Promouvoir une plus grande objectivité dans les informations	5
2. Favoriser une plus grande compréhension entre Canadiens	5
3. Continuer la politique d'échange d'articles	3
4. Créer une agence de nouvelles française	2
5. Distribution de livres et quotidiens à travers le pays.	2
6. Utiliser les accents nécessaires en reproduisant les textes français	2
7. Autres	2

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<sup>1</sup> Prepared by Miss C. Dumont of the Commission's Media Division.

The "flavour" of some of the recommendations on the written press can best be seen by extensively examining some of Miss Dumont's notes on the subject.



Miss Dumont notes that two main themes dominate the submissions to the Commission.

On veut établir une meilleure communication entre Canadiens anglais et français au moyen d'échanges entre journalistes des différentes provinces et en adoptant une attitude plus objective dans la publication des nouvelles concernant les événements canadiens. (Il mémoires). On demande aussi une meilleure distribution des journaux et publications à travers le pays. (5 mémoires).<sup>1</sup>

The writer then deals with the submissions in terms of the type of organizations making them. First she deals with recommendations coming from the media themselves.

Les mémoires des organismes de la presse préconisent un échange d'opinions au moyen d'éditoriaux, de chroniqueurs invités, d'articles bien documentés sur des sujets locaux d'intérêt national; on souhaite plus d'information française, non seulement traduite. On envisage aussi un échange de personnel... La Presse Canadienne... "qu'aucun effort n'est épargné pour obtenir dans leur langue originale les informations provenant des régions française du Canada et de l'étranger, surtout quand il s'agit de citations importantes." Le Montréal Star déplore une absence très grave de communication entre Canadiens anglais et français.<sup>2</sup>

Educational groups were another main source of recommendations.

....Trois mémoires demandent que les journaux évitent d'accentuer le désaccord entre les Canadiens dans la publication ou l'interprétation de certaines nouvelles.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Pp 7-8.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., P. 8

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Pp. 8-9.





Other recommendations by educational associations or organisations suggested exchanges of editorials or articles, reduction of postal rates for imported French-language periodicals and use of correct French accents when reproducing French texts in English publications.

The third main source of recommendations were professional or cultural associations.

Les associations professionnelles ou culturelles demandent à la Presse Canadienne d'augmenter le contenu canadien de ses nouvelles et de promouvoir une plus grande compréhension entre les deux principaux groupes culturels. (NDP, SSJB, Femmes de Carrière, Ass. Canadienne française Alberta). Quelques mémoires souhaitent que les journaux fassent appel à des reporters-sur-place pour faire connaître ce qui se passe dans les autres provinces, de réserver une section pour les articles de journalistes des autres provinces, d'adopter une attitude plus objective. .... Les SSJB d'Ontario souhaitent la création d'une agence de nouvelles française... une traduction accrue de livres canadiens et une distribution aux bibliothèques à travers le pays des livres....

...une plus grande diffusion des publications de l'Imprimeur de la Reine...<sup>1</sup>

Further suggestions called for much more extensive translations of Canadian books into the other language.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, Pp. 9-10.



Professor Compton's essay puts forward five conclusions on the function of the media in English-French relations. These conclusions would seem to be applicable to the written press as much as to the electronic media.

1. Commercialism is the enemy of both the English and the French-Canadian identity.
2. The minority language group must be allotted a proportionately greater share of media resources.
3. The media should be used to reach and cultivate a variety of minority audiences.  
The most effective context in which to exercise persuasion is a relatively small group of similarly motivated and committed people.
4. The media may best serve the cause of biculturalism indirectly rather than explicitly.  
... a much more subtle and sophisticated approach to the problem, one in which Canadian biculturalism will be recognized, implied and celebrated in many small ways throughout the programme schedule.
5. In the popular media, the touchstone of quality is authenticity determined not by counting heads but by reference to reality.  
... not<sup>1</sup> by cunningly concocting items that will "sell".

More specifically, he also suggests that:

Perhaps there ought to be a special agency to encourage and support projects involving translation or bilingual publications. The annual budget need not be very large; it might be administered by the Canadian Council. Support should be extended to publishers of books as well as periodicals. There is a need for reasonably priced paperbacks.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Compton, N., Biculturalism and the English Language Media,  
An Essay Prepared for the Royal Commission on  
Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1965. Pp. 46-52.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., P. 30.



Another of his innovations would call for the Canadian Press to:

send out a regular weekly column of reviews and cultural news from Quebec. French-language publishers should send review copies of their books to the major English dailies from coast to coast. The Canada Council or some other body might subsidize this enterprise.<sup>1</sup>

Apparently, this suggestion would certainly find favour among the English journalists. It should be remembered that 30% of them endorsed having more agency or other coverage of French Canada while another 25 per cent thought there should be more special or staff correspondents providing news about French-Canadian affairs.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Pp. 25-26.





SUMMARY

The present Chapter, after touching on some of the views of the critics of Canadian press coverage of English-French relations, went on to present content analysis data, gathered by researchers of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, on this type of news coverage. These data showed that the amount of news or editorial coverage given to "bilingual and bicultural" news in a Canadian newspaper tends to decrease as the distance of a given paper from Ontario-Quebec increases. Similarly, French newspapers were seen as being much more interested in such news than were English publications. Canadian news issues were essentially regional in character.

The majority of Canadian journalists were satisfied with their papers' news coverage of English-French relations. However, the Federal Press Gallery journalists -- English and French -- were somewhat less satisfied. Few persons felt their papers gave too much attention to acts of French-or-English-Canadian extremism, with the French journalists and particularly the French editors, being more sure than the English that such extremism was not emphasized on their papers.



English-and French-speaking journalists both tended to see the function of the newspapers of their own language in English-French relations as interpreting one group to the other or objectively reporting "the other" group to their readers. As for the function of their own papers in English-French relations, both groups tended to mention these same two functions. However, English respondents showed a strong preference for objectively reporting French-Canadian events, while French newsmen preferred to interpret English-Canada to their readers.

English more than French and Gallery more than editorial journalists were more dissatisfied with their papers' present performance in English-French relations.

English-Canadian journalists felt that their papers could better perform their French-English functions by having more coverage of French-Canada, by having more staff writers in French-Canada, and by having more staff or financial resources at the disposal of their papers or agencies.



PART IV

THE JOURNALIST



## CHAPTER VIII

## THE ROLE OF THE JOURNALIST

## The Main Roles of the Journalist

Such phrases as "the fourth estate", "the fourth branch of government"<sup>1</sup>, "the reporters trade"<sup>2</sup> or "the Washington correspondents"<sup>3</sup> tend to suggest that there is a sufficient pattern in the role behaviour of newsmen to lend an institutional character to this activity. Essential to institutional behaviour is a common set of expectations held by individuals engaged in the group activity. In other words, a degree of consensus on the norms of the institution serves to establish the institutional character of the activity.

The degree of consensus on certain specific aspects of the role of the journalist was examined in this study. Before proceeding to report the results of interview questions on these aspects, it might be profitable to see the role of the journalist, and his "purpose" as outlined by a few observers.

The newsmen, suggest Nimmo<sup>4</sup> and Cater<sup>5</sup> identify themselves primarily as reporters, not as managers or commentators. Nimmo identifies three patterns of reporting, or three "role

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<sup>1</sup> Cater, D., op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Alsop, J., and Alsop, S., The Reporter's Trade, Reynal, New York. 1958.

<sup>3</sup> Rosten, L., op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Nimmo, D., op. cit. P. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Cater, D., op. cit. P. 1.





orientations", i.e. inclinations to "play" their roles in a certain way, among the newsmen he interviewed. These are recording, interpreting, and prescribing or editorialising. He describes them in the following terms:

...The recorder accepts some interpretation as a necessary part of the trade, but never to the point of injecting his own opinions. Of the newsmen observed in this study, 20 per cent can appropriately be classified as recorders.

A second pattern belongs to the expositors... The expositor ... identifies himself as a specialist scanning Washington for stories that may serve the purpose of giving depth to reader understanding.<sup>1</sup>

Summarized, then, the expositor views himself as above the routine of limited, factual reporting, responsible for interpretation of facts he reports, and responsible for making his view known... Forty-two per cent of the newsmen sampled fit into such a descriptive pattern.

Finally, there is the newsman who does more than just report or interpret, the prescriber. Twenty-nine per cent of our sample can be described as conforming to the prescriber's pattern. He states precisely what went wrong -- or right -- and suggests courses of future action which will lead to the world he thinks desirable...<sup>2</sup>

Thus, while Nimmo's three "patterns" or "orientations" of newsmen took account of reporters, his study did not include editors or journalists who wrote in a language other than English, as did the Canadian study. To apply his typology and findings to this study, allowance would have to be made for the editors and for the presence of a bilingual press system.

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<sup>1</sup> Nimmo, op. cit. P. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Nimmo, op. cit. P. 51.



An additional role also was added to the roster for the Canadian study to give four roles: backgrounding, reporting (recorders), interpreting (expositor), and editorialising (prescriber). Backgrounding, a task that may be done by an editor or a reporter, refers to gathering and writing up material (historical, statistical, etc.,) that puts a current topic into perspective.

It also must be remembered that the journalist is located within a structure of social relationships. He has group affiliations apart from journalism, and hence is part of larger systems with their norms about the "proper" role of the journalists. Thus, the social structure within which the communicator operates becomes a legitimate focus of inquiry. Social class background, age, sex, language group, ethnic group membership, and other social ties have to be taken into account when studying his role. However, the present account only treats the journalists' occupation and language group and interprets the responses of the Canadian journalists interviewed about their roles in terms of these variables.<sup>1</sup>

The journalists, French-speaking and English-speaking, editors and Gallery reporters, were queried about their conceptions of the role of the reporter in Canada today. As outlined in Chapter I of this report, this was done in the

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<sup>1</sup> Other independent variables such as education, age, mother tongue, and ethnic origin will be examined in future reports.



belief that the way a reporter "sees" his own role may influence the way he "plays" it. The technique employed to obtain a profile of the journalists' role conceptions, involved the use of a pre-tested, closed question, followed by an open-ended question, designed to elicit information not obtained by the former question. The closed-ended question asked the reporters to rank in order of personal importance the four roles of a journalist: "backgrounding", "reporting", "interpreting", and "editorialising".

The surprising finding here is the low value the French put on straight reporting. (See Table 8.1). While some 85% of the English felt it was their first and foremost role obligation, only 30% of the French gave it primacy. More than a third of the French journalists - the largest response group among the French - felt that the provision of background information was the newspaperman's main concern.

About two-thirds of both the editors and the Press Gallery journalists replied that reporting the facts was the most strategic aspect of the journalist's role.





TABLE 8.1

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE JOURNALISTS'S ROLE, (I) BY LANGUAGE, AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- PERCENTAGE RANKING THE ACTIVITY IN FIRST PLACE.<sup>1</sup>

By Language	"Back-grounding"	"Reporting"	"Inter- preting"	"Editori- alising"
English Journalists	6.7	85.9	7.4	0.7
French Journalists	36.8	29.5	17.4	18.8
<u>By Occupation</u>				
Editors	16.4	69.7	8.1	8.1
Press Gallery Journalists	15.8	66.3	13.8	4.3

<sup>1</sup> Because the base figures for percentaging may vary slightly from column to column the horizontal percentages may not total exactly 100.

Now, to examine, in more detail, the feelings about each of these dimensions of a journalist's role.

The first role about which the respondents were asked was the "backgrounding" role. (Table 8.2)

Interestingly, while only six per cent of the English placed the backgrounding role first, 37% of the French did so. English journalists strongly placed it second, with almost seven in 10 of the English locating it there. On first inspection, there did not appear to be any noticeable occupational differences present.



TABLE 8.2

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE "BACKGROUNDING" ROLE  
OF THE JOURNALIST, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS --  
SELECTING IT AS A FIRST CHOICE OR AS A FIRST OR SECOND  
CHOICE<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	First Choice	First or Second Choice
English Editors (N.78)	6.4	75.6
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	8.0	76.0
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.46)	6.5	73.9
All English Journalists (N.149)	6.7	75.2
French Editors (N.44)	34.1	61.4
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	40.0	53.3
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	44.4	66.6
All French Journalists (N.68)	36.8	60.3

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 109A of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



Further analysis showed that a larger proportion of French than English respondents in each language and occupational group placed the backgrounding role first. However, a sizeable proportion of French editors and French Provincial reporters relegated background writing to either third or fourth place. Hence, while the French tended to place the role either first or second, the English tended to place it second. However, it is clear that the role rates highly with both groups, and more highly with the French.

The "reporting" role was very much more popular among English than among French journalists. (See Table 8.3). Thus, while 86% of the English placed it first, only 30% of the French ranked it first. While only one per cent of the English ranked it last, 18% of the French did so. French reporters seemed to place the role in second or third place.

"Controlling" language and occupation showed that there were no significant occupational differences present but that the significant language differences persisted. As may be seen from Table 8.3, many more -- in percentage terms -- English than French ranked "reporting" first. This was possible the most interesting difference brought out.



TABLE 8.3

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE "REPORTING" ROLE OF THE JOURNALIST, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUP -- PERCENTAGE SELECTING IT<sup>1</sup> AS A FIRST CHOICE OR AS A FIRST OR SECOND CHOICE.

Language and Occupational Groups	First Choice	First or Second Choice
English Editors (N.78)	89.7	97.4
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	88.0	92.0
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.46)	78.3	93.5
All English Journalists (N.149)	85.9	95.3
French Editors (N.44)	34.1	59.1
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	13.3	73.3
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	33.3	77.7
All French Journalists (N.68)	29.5	64.8

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 109A of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





Combining first and second choices showed a clear tendency for English (95%) more than French (65%) to value the reporting role highly. Occupational differences were slight.

Thus, it would seem that the English journalists believed in the idea of "straight" newswriting more than their French colleagues did.

Comparatively few journalists -- about one-tenth of the total number interviewed -- ranked the "interpreting" role first. Most seemed to place it second or third in importance. However, while insignificant occupational differences were present, some quite interesting language differences seemed noticeable. A larger proportion of French than English placed the role first and second. (See Table 8.4)



TABLE 8.4

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE "INTERPRETING" ROLE OF THE JOURNALIST, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- PERCENTAGE SELECTING IT AS A FIRST CHOICE OR AS A FIRST OR SECOND CHOICE.<sup>1</sup>

By language and Occupational Groups	First Choice	First or Second Choice
English Editors (N.78)	3.8	25.6
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	4.2	29.2
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.46)	15.2	28.2
All English Journalists (N.148)	7.4	27.0
French Editors (N.45)	15.6	44.5
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	20.0	40.0
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	22.2	55.5
All French Journalists (N.69)	17.4	44.9

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 109A of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



When language was held "constant", it was found once more that there were no major occupational differences present. However, language differences were consistently found. In all language and occupational groups, a larger proportion of French than English respondents placed the function first and fourth, and a larger proportion of English than French placed it third. Combining first and second choices, showed that while there were no occupational differences, a larger share of French (56%) than English (27%) ranked interpreting first or second. (See Table 8.4)

The remaining role, "editorialising" also seemed to result in a significant language but much less important occupational differences. The most apparent occupational difference seemed to be present among responses allotting fourth place to the role, with 74% of the editors but 84% of the Gallery reporters choosing to place the function there. (See Table 8.5)

While only one English journalist placed the function first, 13 (19%) of the French did so. All in all, French journalists seemed to rank the role higher than did English journalists. Thus, only in the last position, did the pattern of larger percentages for the French reverse, with 46% of the French but 93% of the English placing the role there. Therefore, "editorialising" seemed to be the strong last choice of the English, but seemed to be placed in the first three positions by a majority of the French.





TABLE 8.5

JOURNALISTS' CONCEPTIONS OF THE "EDITORIALISING" ROLE OF THE JOURNALIST, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- PERCENTAGE SELECTING IT AS A FIRST CHOICE OR AS A FIRST OR SECOND CHOICE.<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	First Choice	First or Second Choice
English Editors (N.78)	1.3	1.3
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	0	4.2
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.45)	0	4.4
All English Journalists (N.147)	0.7	2.7
French Editors (N.45)	20.0	37.8
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	26.7	33.4
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	0	0
All French Journalists (N.69)	18.8	31.9

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 109A of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.

On further examination, it was found that the only occupational difference which existed was a very slight one between the Ottawa Press Gallery members and editors. No one in the Ottawa group -- French or English -- ranked the role first. However, one English editor and 20% of the French editors placed editorialising in first place. Interestingly,



too, French Ottawa reporters in general seemed to place much less importance on this role than did the Quebec reporters or French editors. While a third or more of the French editors and Quebec reporters placed it first or second, none of the French Ottawa staff ranked it this high. Quite clearly, then, the French, aside from the small number of French Ottawa reporters, placed much more value on editorialising than did the English.

Thus, role theory suggests, the French may be seen to be more "subjective" in their writing, the English more "objective". In other words, the French seem to feel that they are, in Porter's words, "custodians of values and interpreters of social experience." The English feel that their primary role is to report events factually, without inserting their own views or interpretations.

#### Other Roles for the Journalist

Respondents when queried, in an open-ended fashion, as to what other roles the journalist might perform beyond the four given ones, tended to have only a few suggestions. Almost half of the respondents had no suggestion to make or felt that the four suggested roles were comprehensive enough to cover their answers. All responses to the open-ended question on the other role of the journalist were coded according to the schema outlined in Appendix D.



With regard to the "no opinion" or "no other role" replies, there appeared to be a language difference present, with the percentage for English respondents being significantly higher than that for French journalists. That is the English journalists seemed most satisfied with the four suggested roles.

About half of all respondents replying to this question felt that he should be a "responsible individual", adding support to notions of some American writers on the obligations and role of the journalist. (See Table 8.6).

The primary obligation of the reporter is, argues Reston, to the people.<sup>1</sup> Variations on this theme among newsmen indicate the acceptance of the central idea itself. The responsibility of the newsman is "truth-telling" for society, and, for the political community, it is the telling of political truths. He may follow the precept of Lippmann and "fight for the extension of reportable truth"<sup>2</sup>, or as Cater urges, describe "the closest approximation to the truth that he can discover",<sup>3</sup> But, the basic role is to fulfill an obligation "to see that the truth is told".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Reston, J.B., "The Job of the Reporter", in The Newspaper: Its Making and Its Meaning, Scribner, New York, 1945. Pp. 99-101.

<sup>2</sup> Lippmann, W., Public Opinion, Macmillan, New York, 1922. P. 361.

<sup>3</sup> Cater, D., The Fourth Branch of Government, op. cit. P. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Alsop, J., and Alsop, S., The Reporter's Trade, Reynal, New York, 1958. P. 10.





As may be seen in Table 8.6, there seemed to be only one occupational difference present, but there appeared to be fairly noticeable language differences. Thus, while only eleven per cent of the English suggested the "mediator" role, 22% of the French did so, and while 46% of the English suggested the "responsible individual" function, 53% of the French did so. Twenty-one per cent of the English but only nine per cent of the French emphasized "opinion-making" roles. Hence, in these several categories, language differences came through.

The main occupational difference was that editors, more than Gallery men, felt the journalists should play a responsible role in society.

It will be recalled from Chapter VI that sizeable proportions of several occupational groups saw the newspaper as a "watchdog" of government, but here only five to ten per cent of them saw the journalist in this role. Clearly, then, the "watchdog" function is seen not as an individual role but as a "group" or "institutional" function, i.e. as a purpose of the paper or "the press", and not so much as the reporter's job.





TABLE 8.6

JOURNALISTS' VIEWS OF JOURNALISTS' "OTHER ROLES",<sup>1</sup> (I) BY LANGUAGE  
AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES

By language	A means of supporting culture	"Mediator" between citizens	A responsible individual	An observer of government	An opinion leader	Some other role	Total
English Journalists (N.70)	0	11.4	45.7	11.4	21.4	10.0	100%
French Journalists (N.45)	6.7	22.2	53.3	0	8.9	8.9	100%
<hr/>							
By occupation							
Editors (N.64)	4.7	14.1	53.1	4.7	15.6	7.8	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.51)	0	17.6	43.1	9.8	17.6	11.8	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 109B of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



The "Good" Newsman:  
An Additional Test of Role Consensus

The preceding has demonstrated that the French and the English journalists differ quite markedly in their views on the role of the journalist. On the other hand, no strong systematic difference between occupational types emerged. However, it was felt that a more specific "test" of the similarity or dissimilarity of editors and Gallery journalists and of French and English newsmen was warranted. Therefore, each journalist was asked to select three traits required by the "good newsman". Additionally, it was hoped that certain comparisons with D.C. Nimmo's Newsgathering in Washington would be possible and hence provide some additional data on the relevance of United States studies of journalists to Canadian experience.

If newsmen occupy a specifically defined role in political communication, one might expect a large degree of consensus among these newsmen defining that role. The more the respondents -- French or English speaking; editors or Gallery reporters -- share particular definitions of basic qualities required in journalism, the more they may be said to be "alike" in their outlook toward journalism. The selection by respondents of the qualities which a "good" newsman should possess, thus, is an index of the degree of consensus or agreement on role characteristics.



The categories used in posing the question which sought to find out how respondents defined the qualities of "the good newsmen" were essentially the same as those used by Nimmo.<sup>1</sup> However, Nimmo's "intellectual" quality was subdivided into two qualities in the present study: intelligence and analytical ability.

About one-half of the respondents selected either intelligence or analytical ability as the "most important" quality of a "good" newsman. (Table 8.7) These categories correspond to the "intellectual attribute" which was the more popular choice of Nimmo's respondents. The other popular qualities in the Canadian study were "physical stamina" and "professional integrity". Stamina was mentioned by one-fifth of the Canadian respondents as being very important for the "good" newsman.

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<sup>1</sup> Nimmo, Newsgathering, op. cit. P.113.

(Categories not mutually exclusive)	Percentage of Respondents Mentioning Attribute (N.35)
Intellectual	82%
Character	31
Educational	43
Personality	20
Physical	23
Professional	51
Responsible Attitude	22





TABLE 8.7

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF MOST IMPORTANT QUALITY IN A "GOOD" NEWSMAN,  
BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Intelligence	Analytical Ability	Good Character	Education	Pleasing Personality	Physical Stamina	Professional Integrity	Responsible Attitude	Total
English Editors (N.79)	43.0	8.9	0	2.5	0	19.0	16.5	10.1	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	45.8	12.5	0	4.2	4.2	8.3	12.5	12.5	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.49)	46.9	4.1	0	2.0	0	22.4	12.2	12.2	100%
All English Journalists (N.152)	44.6	7.8	0	2.5	0.6	18.3	15.1	11.1	100%
French Editors (N.47)	31.9	14.9	4.3	0	0	25.5	17.0	6.4	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.14)	7.1	21.4	0	7.1	0	14.3	35.7	14.3	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	33.3	11.1	0	0	0	11.1	22.2	22.2	100%
All French Journalists (N.70)	27.1	15.7	2.9	1.4	0	21.5	21.5	10.0	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 128 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



Rather than consensus between linguistic groups, the replies of the Canadian journalists seemed to have some interesting language differences and also a slight occupational difference.

While 45% of the English chose "intelligence", only 27% of the French did so. Conversely, while only eight per cent of the English chose "analytical ability" twice as large a proportion of the French did so. Although only 15% of the English selected "professional integrity" 25% of the French did.

When "language" was "controlled", there was found to be one noticeable occupational difference present. Press Gallery correspondents, regardless of language, scored higher percentages than did the editors when it came to choosing "responsible attitude" as the first quality.

On the other hand, distinct language differences were found among three categories of replies. As Table 8.7 shows, English journalists in each occupational group more strongly leaned toward the "intelligence" quality than did their French-speaking associates and conversely a larger percentage of French-speaking than English-speaking journalists in each occupational group preferred "analytical ability". The French language reporters also had more definite preferences for the "professional integrity" quality.



TABLE 8.8

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF SECOND MOST IMPORTANT QUALITY IN A "GOOD NEWSMAN",  
BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Intelligence	Analytical Ability	Good Character	Education	Pleasing Personality	Physical Stamina	Professional Integrity	Responsible Attitude	Total
English Editors (N.79)	16.5	13.9	1.3	8.9	0	17.7	25.3	16.5	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	8.3	12.5	0	8.3	0	65.0	12.5	33.3	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.49)	20.4	20.4	0	0	0	20.4	16.3	22.4	100%
All English Journalists (N.152)	16.4	15.8	0.7	5.9	0	19.7	20.4	21.1	100%
French Editors (N.47)	10.6	19.1	0	0	0	25.5	21.3	23.4	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.14)	21.4	7.1	0	0	0	28.6	14.3	28.6	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	11.1	44.4	0	0	0	22.2	22.2	0	100%
All French Journalists (N.70)	12.7	20.0	0	0	0	25.7	20.0	21.4	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 128 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





By combining respondents' second most important quality replies so that "intelligence" and "analytical ability" are considered as one group, this new category also was found to be the dominant choice for the second most important quality, as it had been for the most important quality. (See Table 8.8)

The other strong second choices were: physical stamina, a responsible attitude and professional integrity, each of which was mentioned by about one-fifth of the Canadian respondents.<sup>1</sup>

Generally, then, it was found in the examination of role consensus that once again language differences were very much more pronounced than were occupational differences. The English writers felt that the "good newsman" needed intelligence and insight while the French writers emphasized the need for skill in exposition (analytical ability).

### Summary

The degree of consensus of English- and French-speaking Gallery reporters and editors on their conceptions of the role of the journalist in Canada today was examined in this Chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> Nimmo's second most popular item was the "professional attribute". The other two qualities popular in the Canadian study, were not named as frequently by Nimmo's journalists.





Quite interestingly, it seems that the English much more than the French placed a high value on hard news reporting. More than a third of the French felt that the primary role of the journalist was either to "interpret" the news or to "editorialise" about it. The French, then, appear to feel that they have a "subjective" aspect to their role. The English tend to feel that their primary responsibility, above all, is "to tell the 'facts'."

About half of the respondents -- but particularly the English -- feel that reporting, backgrounding, interpreting or editorialising were a journalist's primary roles. The most popular additional suggestion was that the journalist should be a "responsible individual". The "watchdog of government" role seemed to be seen more as the function of the press rather than the role of the individual journalist.

An additional test of role consensus -- the definition of qualities of the "good" newsman -- once again showed that views of the role of the journalist in Canadian society tended to be quite different between French and English newsmen, while differences between editors and Gallery journalists appeared to be slight.



## CHAPTER IX

### THE ROLE OF THE JOURNALIST IN ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS

#### The Ethnic Character of the Written Press

The "handling" of the news in English-French relations is in part an outcome of the ethnic backgrounds of the reporters. To the extent that there is a homogeneity of background, it is likely that the journalists will hold the same views on Canadian problems. When persons come from diverse ethnic origins, the likelihood of marked differences of opinion is increased. As the following analysis shows, the English and French press corps are rather ethnically homogeneous.

Not too surprisingly, journalists, in every occupational group, writing in English were predominantly British in ethnic origin and journalists, in every occupational group, writing in French were predominantly French in ethnic origin. However, neither group was entirely ethnically "monolithic".



TABLE 9.1

ETHNIC ORIGINS OF CANADIAN JOURNALISTS, BY LANGUAGE AND  
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS - HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES

Language and Occupational Groups	<u>Ethnic Group</u>			Total
	British	French	Others	
English Editors (N.78)	82.1	2.6	15.4	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	76.0	0	24.0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	76.0	0	24.0	100%
<hr/>				
All English Journalists (N.153)	79.1	1.3	19.6	100%
<hr/>				
French Editors (N.47)	4.3	85.1	10.6	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	6.7	66.7	26.7	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	11.1	77.8	11.1	100%
<hr/>				
All French Journalists (N.71)	5.6	80.3	14.1	100%
<hr/>				





Thus, although nearly 80% of all English-writing journalists were British in origin, there were two persons of French origin and 30 (20%) of neither British nor French origin. Of the 71 French-language journalists, 80% were French in origin, four persons (six per cent) were British and 10 (14%) were of non-British and non-French origin.

The percentage of persons of "other" ethnic origin was quite similar among English and French journalists. Combining the figures for "minority" ethnic groups within the two groups, it appeared that one in five of the French-writing journalists were not of French origin and about the same proportion of English-writing journalists were not of British origin.

Therefore, it would seem that both the English and the French groups in ethnic terms, were equally heterogeneous but overwhelmingly dominated by one ethnic group.

Not too surprising, in view of the experience level and age involved, the most ethnically homogeneous British group in the sample were the English editors, 82% of whom were of British stock. (Table 9.1) Similarly, the most homogeneous group of all were the French editors, 85% of whom were of French descent. The strongest representation of the "other" ethnic groups was found in the English Provincial and Federal Galleries and, surprisingly, in the French Provincial Gallery where, in each case, about one in four fell into this category.



## The Reporting of Bilingual-Bicultural Events

The way a journalist perceives an event, together with the social and psychological factors which help him "interpret" or "make sense" of reality may be a significant determinant of the way he "handles" a story. Two journalists may examine the same event and yet describe it in quite different ways. This lack of consensus about a situation, and, hence, on the interpretation of these "facts" may be seen in two stories of the same event. For example, on March 28, 1966 an Ottawa concert by a popular bilingual singer showed a great disparity in the reviews of the show. The Ottawa Citizen report described the show as a success and accredited the singer with winning "a victory for peaceful co-existence" between the two linguistic groups.<sup>1</sup> The Ottawa Journal reported that the singer "didn't exactly conquer her standing-room only audience" and that her unbalanced programme caused "many members of the audience, presumably English-speaking, to leave the theater" during intermission. The reviewer added that: "In Montreal it was only natural that the accent of the show would be French. But not in Ottawa."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Ottawa Citizen, March 29, 1966.

<sup>2</sup> The Ottawa Journal, March 29, 1966.



The reviewer for the Citizen held a somewhat different point of view: "The fact is that the singer is a bouncy, mischievous totally loveable performer who could charm an audience in any nation... She's welcome back anytime."<sup>1</sup>

Here, then, is a clear case of a different interpretation of a French-English event. In view of such differing emphases by various newsmen, it becomes important to know who are the newsmen that cover these bilingual-bicultural events. This is laid out in Table 9.2. It should be noted, however, that these are not actual counts of reports written but rather the journalists' evaluations of the extent to which they cover such events.

Press Gallery reporters seemed to be more frequent writers of stories on "bilingual or bicultural subjects" than other occupational groups. Interestingly, there did not appear to be any significant language differences present with about five out of 10 French and English writers "often" or "sometimes" preparing stories on "bilingual" or "bicultural" matters.

While only one in four of the Gallery reporters never wrote on subjects of this type, two out of five of the editors never touched on them. This, of course, was not surprising since the editors were selected from coast-to-coast, while the Gallery men were chosen from among Ottawa, Quebec and Toronto galleries. The

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<sup>1</sup> The Ottawa Citizen, March 29, 1966.





TABLE 9.2

FREQUENCY OF JOURNALISTS' WRITING ABOUT "BILINGUAL" OR  
 "BICULTURAL" SUBJECTS, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL  
 GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Often	Sometimes - Occasionally	Never	Total
English Editors (N.77)	27.3	33.8	39.0	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	16.0	64.0	20.0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	38.0	58.0	4.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.152)	28.9	46.7	24.4	100%
French Editors (N.47)	25.5	38.2	36.2	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.14)	0	71.4	28.6	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.8)	50.0	50.0	0	100%
All French Journalists (N.69)	23.2	46.3	30.5	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 116 of interview schedule.  
 See Appendix A to this report.





galleries, especially those in Ottawa and Quebec, are the most bilingual and bicultural in Canada because of their linguistic composition and geographical locations. Clearly, then, the Gallery reporters write more frequently than editors on "bilingual or bicultural" subjects.

Since it is apparent that Gallery writers are more likely than editors to produce stories with bilingual implications, it becomes relevant to know the approach the Gallery newsmen would take to the topic. An indirect test of this was made in the Federal Gallery.

On the assumption that he was not able to cover a "bilingual" or "bicultural" event, the Ottawa Gallery reporter was asked to name his Ottawa Gallery colleague whose story he would like to use as the basis for one of his own. The results of this question<sup>1</sup> may be seen in Table 9.3.

The most popular choice among the English was James Stewart (Montreal Star), followed by Peter Newman (Toronto Star) and then by George Bain, (Toronto Globe and Mail). Either Jean-Pierre Fournier (Le Devoir) or Pierre O'Neil (La Presse) was the first choice of the majority (five out of nine) of the French Gallery workers.

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<sup>1</sup> A similar question also was asked of the editors and provincial pressmen. Again, there is a convergence on certain persons as setting the style for the coverage of bilingual and bicultural issues.



TABLE 9.3

OTTAWA PRESS GALLERY JOURNALISTS' PREFERENCES FOR STORIES BY THEIR  
"PEERS" ON A "BILINGUAL OR BICULTURAL SUBJECT", BY LANGUAGE --  
HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language of Respondents	Journalists Nominated							Total
	James Stewart	Peter Newman	George Bain	Some Other English- language Journalist <sup>2</sup>	Jean-Pierre Fournier	Pierre O'Neill	Some Other French- language Journalist <sup>3</sup>	Use C.P. No Opinion or Hansard Refuse
English (N.50)	24.0	22.0	14.0	16.0	6.0	4.0	4.0	6.0
French (N.9)	0	0	0	0	33.4	22.2	22.2	11.1
								100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 123 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.

<sup>2</sup> No English-language journalist included here was mentioned more than twice.

<sup>3</sup> No French-language journalist included here was mentioned more than once.



It seems that the writers whose approach to bilingual-bicultural affairs most closely corresponds to the one the respondent feels he has, or might like to have, are all correspondents for large Toronto or Montreal papers.

The "top" bilingual-bicultural Ottawa Press Gallery journalists as seen by the non-Ottawa newsmen in this study, are shown in Table 9.4.

The three most popular English-language journalists, named by English-language editors and legislative reporters were: Peter Newman, named by 16% of the English; James Stewart, named by 13% of them; and Christopher Young, chosen by 11% of the English-language editors and Quebec and Toronto correspondents. The most popular French-language journalists as rated by their French-speaking peers were: Jean Pierre Fournier, named by 24% of the French; Pierre O'Neill, by 19%; and Clément Brown, chosen by 11% of the French-language legislative reporters and editors.

Hence, it is clear that the reporting of English-French relations is done by an English and by a French press each of which is quite ethnically homogeneous and takes its standards from the large urban centres of Ontario and Québec.

While data also was collected concerning the journalists views of the most outstanding journalists in Canadian journalism, time did not permit utilisation of this information in this report.





TABLE 9.4

EDITORS' AND PROVINCIAL PRESS GALLERY JOURNALISTS' PREFERENCES FOR STORIES BY OTTAWA PRESS GALLERY JOURNALISTS ON A "BILINGUAL OR BICULTURAL SUBJECT", BY LANGUAGE -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Journalists Nominated										Use							
	Some Other English-language Journalist <sup>2</sup>			Jean-Pierre Fournier <sup>2</sup>			Pierre Clément O'Neill Brown			Some Other French-language Journalist <sup>3</sup>	C.P. or Han-sard	No Opinion or Refuse	Total				
Language of Respondents	Peter Newman	James Stewart	Chris. Young	George Bain	Blair Fraser	10.5	7.6	4.8	20.0	1.9	0	0	0	0.9	8.6	16.2	100%
English (N.105)	16.2	13.3	10.5	7.6	4.8	20.0	1.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.9	8.6	16.2	100%
French (N.62)	1.6	4.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	24.2	19.4	11.3	9.7	3.2	11.3	14.5	100%	

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question No. 122 of interview schedule.

See Appendix A to this report.

<sup>2</sup> No one here received than more four mentions.

<sup>3</sup> No one received more than one mention.



## The Journalists' Audiences

There has been considerable speculation raised over the influence of a newsman's audiences on his role performance. For example, Cater found the correspondent's audiences -- sources, bosses, and readers - significant.<sup>1</sup> Walter Lippmann wrote of the influence of the "constant reader" and the "buying public" in determining the conduct of newspaper business.<sup>2</sup> Breed has stressed that a principal factor moulding the reporter's professional norms is his perceived obligation to his readers.<sup>3</sup> Still another study suggested that what the reporter writes or says is influenced by "imaginary interlocutors" -- the audience about whom the reporter is thinking when he writes.<sup>4</sup>

Both Rosten and Breed<sup>5</sup> suggest that reporters sometimes write stories especially aimed at their editors or publishers. They often write for these specific persons and not for the "General Public".

One question in the interview schedule sought to find out the perceived audiences of the newsmen when they wrote

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<sup>1</sup> Cater, op.cit., Pp. 170-179.

<sup>2</sup> Lippmann W. Public Opinion, MacMillan, New York, 1922. Pp. 317-337.

<sup>3</sup> Breed, W., "Social Control in the Newsroom, A Functional Analysis," Social Forces XXXIII, May 1955, Pp. 33-334.

<sup>4</sup> See: de Sola Pool, I. and Schulman, I., "Newsmen's Fantasies, Audiences and Newswriting," P.O.Q., Vol. XXIII, Summer 1959, P. 145.

<sup>5</sup> Breed, W. op.cit., Pp. 326-335, and Rosten, The Washington Correspondents, Harcourt Brace, New York 1937. See Appendix E of this report.



stories about English-French relations. A question addressed to the newsmen who, in a previous question, had admitted writing about English-French relations "sometimes", "occasionally" or "often", asked these respondents to name the "public" paying most attention to their stories on English-French relations.

Table 9.5 would suggest that the English journalists (21%) more so than the French (13%) write for their editors, for policy makers or for opinion leaders, while French journalists -- 68% of them -- write for "all readers equally". However, it should be noted that although significant numbers of English newsmen said they wrote for editors policy-makers or opinion leaders, yet, the largest group, 36% reported writing for all readers.

Additionally, it would seem that editors -- 55% of them -- write for "all readers equally" to a greater extent than do the Gallery reporters. Gallery reporters seem to write more for editors and much less for "all readers equally", or at least to be more aware of "special" audiences than are the editors.

Not surprisingly, following the lead of the Rosten and Breed exploratory studies, many more Gallery reporters, regardless of language group, wrote for their editors than editors wrote for their editorial superiors. Editors wrote for "all readers equally" and for opinion leaders more than Gallery correspondents did.





TABLE 9.5

JOURNALISTS' ESTIMATIONS OF GROUPS PAYING MOST ATTENTION TO THEIR STORIES ABOUT ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS, BY LANGUAGE AND BY OCCUPATION --- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	Editors or Superiors	Colleagues	All Readers Equally	Policy Makers	Opinion Leaders	Others	Total
English Journalists (N.112)	21.4	10.7	35.7	12.5	15.2	4.5	100%
French Journalists (N.47)	12.8	8.5	68.1	2.1	6.4	2.1	100%
<hr/>							
By Occupation							
Editors (N.75)	8.0	12.0	54.7	8.0	14.7	2.6	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.84)	28.6	8.3	36.9	10.7	10.7	4.8	100%
<hr/>							
Total - All Journalists (N.159)	18.9	10.1	45.3	9.4	12.6	3.7	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 117 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





Thus, it would seem that the notion of a single perceived "Public" or "Audience" for Canadian journalists, at least in the field of English-French relations, was not too widely held by the political journalists. Rather, these newsmen acknowledged that certain groups were more interested than others in their work. This, of course, does not necessarily imply that they did not write for a "General Public", but rather, that within this "General Public" they perceived certain groups as being more interested in news of this type than are other groups. This notion bears a close similarity to the work of Rosten who suggests that while the reporter claims and perceives a "General Public", he may write for and "aim" his work at specific groups such as his editors.

Role theory too suggests that the way an actor evaluates his audiences or role sectors may influence the way he "plays" his role.<sup>1</sup> The implications of the situation described above for the treatment of French-English problems in the daily press is clear.

Of interest also is that the American writers in Nimmo's study gave slightly more emphasis to opinion leaders

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter I of this study.



than did the Canadian journalists interviewed.<sup>1</sup> For their part, the Canadian Gallery writers, slightly more so than the Washington writers, felt that their editors were a more sensitive audience.

### The Journalists' Awareness of Policy

According to a basic text in journalism, "policy is a determinant of new value because being set up by the newspaper owners or operators it usually fashions the manner in which information is to be presented".<sup>2</sup> The authors a few pages later offer the opinion that "at the back of the mind of every reporter -- at least every intelligent reporter -- is awareness... that his paper has certain policies, has particular circulation eccentricities and has specific plans for community service. Policy is another

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<sup>1</sup> Nimmo found that while 33% of his journalists wrote for a "general public", 67% wrote for "specific publics".  
The Publics of the Washington Journalists (n.34)

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. General Public   | 33% |
| 2. Publics of opinion leaders (influentials, students, informal laymen) | 17% |
| 3. Regional public  | 15% |
| 4. Organization publics (superior, editor, boss)                        | 13% |
| 5. Policy-making publics (president, cabinet, congress)                 | 13% |
| 6. Specialised publics (clienteles, economic interests)                 | 9%  |

<sup>2</sup> Wolseley, R.E. and Campbell, L.R., Exploring Journalism, Prentice Hall, New York, 1946. P. 135.



way of saying the point of view of the paper".<sup>1</sup> Hence, knowingly or unknowingly, in their role relationships journalists are subject to policy pressures by their paper's owners.

Writers have not always agreed on the extent of publisher or editorial influence over the behaviour of reporters. For example, while Rosten emphasized the influence of psychological and social factors on the reporter's behaviour, he did concede that "the newspaperman whose publisher has a phobia for income taxes may communicate a different version of a Congressional debate than a reporter whose publisher is crusading for government control of profits and unearned increments".<sup>2</sup> However, a review of Rosten's work has argued that the reporter's superior, no matter how far distant, is a more important influence over the newsman than most other social or psychological factors.<sup>3</sup> Also, Breed contends that newspaper policy is indeed an important determinant of the reporter's

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<sup>1</sup> Wolseley, R.E. and Campbell, L.R., Exploring Journalism, Prentice Hall, New York, 1946. P. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Rosten, L., The Washington Correspondents, Harcourt Brace, New York 1937 P. 150. See Appendix E of this report.

<sup>3</sup> Player, C., "Review: The Washington Correspondents" Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XV (1938), Pp. 58-60.





behaviour because of his tendency to accept the values of the newsroom.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, a more recent study of the Washington Gallery found only an indirect editorial influence over the newsmen.

Newsmen sampled in the present study tended to bear out assertions which attribute only indirect influence over reporters by editors and publishers. In the sample of newsmen interviewed (N. 35) only 14 per cent were of the opinion that their reporting was directly influenced by the dictates of their news organizations. Few had ever experienced any threats of reprisal for treating a story in a particular manner. Another 16 per cent insisted they were totally free from any organizational influence whatsoever. But, the remaining 70 per cent... viewed organizational influence over performance as existing but indirect in nature.<sup>2</sup>

Comparable studies have been lacking to date in Canada, although journalists have not been reluctant to speculate on editorial pressures. This "indirect influence" theory was suggested by one participant at the 1964 Couchiching Conference who said: "The average reporter in the Press Gallery is not told by his publisher what to write. I agree that he knows what his paper's attitude toward the news is, and that possibly he will try and reflect it... the average person in the Press Gallery in Ottawa writes his story as he sees it."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Breed, op.cit., P. 328-332. See Appendix E of this report.

<sup>2</sup> Nimmo, op. cit., P.71.

<sup>3</sup> Proceedings, Canadian Institute on Public Affairs, Conference, Summer 1964. P. 126.



Professor Eggleston writing of an earlier day in Canadian journalism could recall more direct pressure by the publisher. According to him, soon after being assigned to the Ottawa Gallery, he was called in to see Mr. J.E. Atkinson the publisher of the Toronto Star, who "laid down" the paper's policy for his guidance.

According to Professor Eggleston's account, Mr. Atkinson instructed that, among other things:

The current of opinion at Ottawa was to be interpreted as well as reporting events and trans actions. Read the editorial page of the Star he said, so as to develop team-play with the editorial writers. In writing your political articles, he advised, seek to win converts rather than to make enemies. Cooperation with the representatives of such newspapers as the Montreal Star, the Winnipeg Free Press and the Vancouver Sun was quite satisfactory. Go easy at first, he recommended. Make friends of the private secretaries of the Ministers. Don't expect favours of them though.<sup>1</sup>

If there is much editorial or publisher influence in Canada in any spheres, English-French relations quite readily could be one area where such policies might be present. Accordingly, this study attempted to examine the journalists on their awareness of editorial policy in English-French relations.

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<sup>1</sup> Eggleston, W. "Leaves from a Pressman's Log", op. cit.



The English journalists were asked if they knew of the existence of any definite editorial policy on their papers regarding coverage of events in French Canada. French journalists were asked for their awareness of a policy on their papers as to coverage of events in English Canada.

Interestingly, there did not seem to be any really strong language differences present, but there were some slight occupational differences. Not too surprisingly, the editors, who help make policy, seemed to be the more aware of such a policy, 60% of them knowing of one. However, half the Gallery reporters also were aware of such an editorial policy on their papers. This fairly high degree of awareness of editorial or publisher policy on the part of the Press Gallery writers would tend to support the studies by Warren Breed and Leo Rosten, both of whom suggest that journalists become aware of, are influenced by, and tend to conform to their newspapers' editorial or publishers' policies.<sup>1</sup> This became clearer when language and occupation were "controlled".

The greater awareness of policy by the editors is not so apparent. In fact, a sensitivity equal to the editors was shown on the English side by the Provincial Press Gallery, and on the French side by the French Federal men. See Table 9.6.

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<sup>1</sup> Breed, W., "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis" Social Forces, Vol. XXXIII (May, 1955). Pp. 326-335, and Rosten, L., The Washington Correspondents, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1937. See Appendix E to this report, for reviews of these works.





TABLE 9.6

JOURNALISTS' AWARENESS OF THEIR PAPERS' (EDITORIAL) POLICIES  
ON COVERAGE OF EVENTS IN FRENCH OR ENGLISH CANADA<sup>1</sup>, BY LANGUAGE  
AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS--- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>2</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Yes Am Aware	No Not Aware	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N.79)	55.7	38.0	6.3	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	56.0	20.0	24.0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	48.0	28.0	4.0	100%
All English Jour- nalists (N.154)	53.2	38.3	8.5	100%
French Editors (N.47)	66.0	31.9	2.1	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	33.3	46.7	2.1	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	66.7	33.3	0	100%

1

French Canada for English respondents and English Canada for French journalists.

2

Based on answers to Question 113 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





However, when the question shifted to find out if there was a definite policy to emphasize or to de-emphasize news about French or English Canada, it was found that of the French reporters who were aware of a policy, 88% were aware of policies to "play up" news about English Canada. In comparison, of the English journalists who were aware of such policies, only 37% felt they were directed to "play up" news about French Canada. (See Table 9.7) Interestingly too, almost 60% of the English but only nine per cent of the French suggested that the policy was neither to "play up" nor to "play down" events.<sup>1</sup>

Typical of these latter responses was one English respondent who commented that his paper's policy "was neither to play up nor to play down news about French Canada but rather to see that news of French Canada received as much attention as my editors and I feel it deserves". This type of answer seemed to be rather common. It, of course, "begs the question" and does not account for the editors' or journalists' preconceptions or preferences, or for the regionalism of the daily press in carrying this type of news.

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<sup>1</sup> Varying from 0 for French Federal Gallery reporters to 67% for English editors (only 10% for French editors.)



TABLE 9.7

JOURNALISTS' AWARENESS OF A POLICY TO "PLAY UP" OR "PLAY DOWN" STORIES ABOUT FRENCH OR ENGLISH CANADA<sup>1</sup>, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES.<sup>2</sup>

<u>By Language</u>	<u>Play Up</u>	<u>Play Down</u>	<u>Other Policy</u>	<u>Total</u>
English Journalists (N.85)	36.5	4.7	58.8	100%
French Journalists (N.43)	88.4	2.3	9.3	100%
<hr/>				
<u>By Occupation</u>				
Editors (N.76)	54.0	1.3	44.7	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.52)	53.8	7.7	38.5	100%

1 French Canada for English writers and English Canada for French respondents. The question was asked only to those who, in the previous question, had expressed some feeling that their paper had some kind of policy on the subject.

2 Based on answers to Question 114 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A of this report.



Detailed examination showed that the strong language difference persisted. While three out of 10 English editors who were conscious of a policy on coverage of French Canada were aware of a policy to "play up" news of French Canada, nine out of 10 French editors who were conscious of policies on English Canadian news, said these policies were to "play up". While 44% of English Ottawa reporters conscious of any policy on coverage of French Canada knew of a "play up" policy, all French Ottawa reporters who knew of any policy on English Canada coverage said this policy was to "play up" the stories.

Hence, the French much more than the English are working in an atmosphere where they are expected to seek out and play up news about "the other" Canada. Occupational differences were very slight.

After asking the journalists about their paper's editorial policies, the interviewers then proceeded to inquire whether or not the journalists were in agreement with it. Not surprisingly, editors, who help determine such policies, seemed to be more in agreement than Gallery reporters on their paper's policies on coverage of events in "the other" Canada. While 40% of the editors "always" agreed with their paper's policies, only 19% of the Gallery journalists did so. While 31% of the editors "usually" agreed with their paper's policies, 46%





TABLE 9.8

FREQUENCY OF JOURNALISTS' AGREEMENT WITH THIS POLICY, (I) BY LANGUAGE  
AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	Always Agree	Usually Agree	Sometimes Agree	Never Agree	Qualified	Don't Know	Total
English Journalists (N.87)	29.9	32.2	24.2	1.1	1.1	11.5	100%
French Journalists (N.45)	33.3	46.7	6.7	8.9	2.2	2.2	100%
<hr/>							
By Occupation							
Editors (N.78)	39.7	30.8	15.4	3.8	1.3	9.0	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N. 54)	18.5	46.3	22.2	3.7	1.9	7.4	100%
<hr/>							
Total - All Journalists (N.132)	31.1	37.1	18.2	3.8	1.5	8.3	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 115 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



of the Gallery reporters did so. Thus, the editors appeared to agree more unreservedly with these policies than did the Gallery newsmen.

On further examination, French newsmen in each occupational group scored higher percentage scores in terms of "always" agreeing.<sup>1</sup> Among the English newsmen, the Ottawa Gallery writers (72%) were in greater harmony with their paper's policies than the editors (60%) or Provincial Gallery workers (53%). On the French side, it was the editors (87%) who were most in agreement with their paper's editorial slant.

It is apparent, then, that although most French are aware that their paper's editorial policy is to "play up" events in English Canada, they personally are quite in agreement with the policy.

#### The Promotion of Intergroup Understanding

The respondents were queried as to whether they themselves, as individual journalists, had a role to play in English-French relations. Nine out of 10 of the journalists felt that they had such roles. There appeared to be no significant language or occupational differences present among responses, save that a slightly higher percentage of the French than the English respondents felt

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<sup>1</sup> The French Federal Gallery is discounted here because of the small number of cases (seven).



TABLE 9.9

JOURNALISTS' VIEW OF HIS OWN ROLE IN ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS,  
BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS-- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

Language and Occupational Groups	Has a Role	No - Has no role	Don't Know	No Answer	Total
English Editors (N.80)	86.3	6.3	2.5	5.0	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	88.0	12.0	0	0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	96.0	2.0	2.0	0	100%
All English Journalists (N.155)	89.7	5.8	1.9	2.6	100%
French Editors (N.46)	89.1	10.9	0	0	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	73.3	20.0	6.7	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	100.0	0	0	0	100%
All French Journalists (N.70)	87.2	11.4	1.4	0	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 111 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



that they did not have a role to play. The figures involved here, as may be seen in the Table 9.9, were relatively small - six per cent of the English felt they had no role compared to 11% for the French.

Language and occupational differences emerged under detailed examination. It was found that a larger proportion of French than English reporters in each occupational and language group felt that they had no role to play in English-French relations, and there also seemed to be a slight, although perhaps not significant, tendency for Gallery reporters to score lower percentages than editors in the "no role" category. Once again, the percentages were quite small, except for the French Provincial (Québec) reporters, one-fifth of whom felt they had no role to play in intergroup relations.

When the journalists were asked how they, themselves, could promote understanding between French and English Canadians, 88% of the newsmen interviewed in this study had a definite suggestion to make, and 78% made suggestions which fitted into the coding scheme used in recording replies to this question. (Table 9.10)

There appeared to be some quite interesting language differences present but only slight occupational differences.





TABLE 9.10

JOURNALISTS' VIEWS ON HOW THEY, AS JOURNALISTS, COULD PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN ENGLISH AND FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language and Occupational Groups	Learn About and Understand the "Other Group"	Learn "the Other Language"	Emphasize News Favouring National Unity
English Editors (N. 80)	15.0	1.3	5.0
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	0	0	12.5
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	24.0	12.0	2.0
All English Journalists (N.154)	15.6	4.5	5.2
French Editors (N.47)	0	0	6.4
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	0	0	13.3
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	11.1	0	11.1
All French Journalists (N.71)	1.4	0	8.5

1

Based on answers to Question 112 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



hasize distinc- ness of each guage groups	Avoid Sensation- alism	Interpret one Group to the Other	Report English/ French Relations "Objectively"	Other Suggestions	No Opinion	Total
1.3	11.3	17.5	30.0	13.8	5.0	100%
8.3	0.0	33.3	25.0	12.5	8.3	100%
0.0	12.0	20.0	16.0	6.0	8.0	100%
1.9	9.7	20.8	24.7	11.1	6.5	100%
4.3	17.0	29.8	4.3	10.6	27.7	100%
0.0	6.7	20.0	26.7	6.7	26.7	100%
0.0	11.1	44.4	22.2	0.0	0.0	100%
2.8	14.1	29.6	11.3	8.4	23.9	100%



## SUMMARY

Both the English and the French groups were ethnically equally heterogeneous, but overwhelmingly dominated by one ethnic group, with the editors in both language groups being the most ethnically homogeneous. Gallery reporters, it was found, reported writing more frequently than editors on "bilingual and bicultural" matters.

It seems that the "ideal" Ottawa Gallery writer, the one whose approach to bilingual-bicultural affairs most closely correspond to the one the respondents feel they have, or might have, are almost all correspondents for large Ontario or Québec daily newspapers. Furthermore, the "top" English-language journalists seem to be ethnically almost all British, while the "top" French journalists appeared to be almost entirely French in ethnic origin.

It would seem that the notion of a single perceived "Public" or "Audience" for Canadian political journalists, at least in the area of English-French relations, was not too widely held by the political journalists. Rather, these newsmen acknowledged that certain groups were more interested than others in their work when they wrote on English-French relations. Press Gallery journalists more





than editors wrote more for their editors. English journalists, too, more than the French admitted writing for their editors, their colleagues, opinion leaders and policy makers.

Interestingly, one-half of the Gallery men were aware of their papers policy on coverage of English-French relations, tending to substantiate the Rosten and Breed studies on editorial influence. In addition, French journalists were more aware of a policy to "play up" news about English Canada than English newsmen were aware of a "play up" policy for news about French Canada. French more than English respondents, unreservedly agreed with this policy. Nine in 10 journalists felt their papers had a role to play in English-French relations, with French Quebec reporters being the least sure of this. Again, nine out of 10 made suggestions as to how they, as journalists, might promote understanding between the two groups, mainly emphasizing reporting or interpreting the language groups to one another.



While one-quarter of the English felt that the best approach was to report French-English relations objectively, only one in ten of the French put forward this idea and of the 38 English advocates, 24 were editors. However, while 30 per cent of the French compared to 21% of the English felt it was most important to interpret one group to the other, 20% of the French but 33% of the English Provincial newsmen did so.

Occupationally", two categories each attracted about one-fifth of the editors and Gallery writers: to report objectively on French-English relations and to interpret one group to the other. Also, while eight per cent of the Gallery reporters suggested that they avoid sensationalism, 13% of the editors suggested this course of action.

While no English or French Provincial journalists suggested it, 12 English editors and 12 English Ottawa reporters, but only one French journalist, who was a member of the Ottawa Gallery, suggested that they should learn about and understand the other language group. Similarly, one English editor and six English Ottawa reporters, but no French newsman in any category suggested learning "the other language", possibly because the French already were more bilingual.



Emphasizing news which favours national unity and good English-French relations was suggested by slightly larger percentages of French than English respondents in each occupational group, but overall, only a minority gave this serious consideration.



## CHAPTER X

## THE JOURNALISTS OPINIONS ON THE PRESS

A number of questions were put to the Canadian journalists to find out their views on the performance of various media, and the accuracy and thoroughness of several news agencies and newspapers. Also, they were queried about their "ideal" newspaper and their own reading habits.

## The Media Which Best Increase Information

When asked to evaluate which medium best served to increase information between the various provinces, English-speaking respondents favoured newspapers while French-speaking respondents preferred television. Thus, one third of the English respondents chose newspapers while only about one fifth of the French respondents did so. Conversely, four out of 10 French journalists chose television, but only three out of 10 English journalists made this choice. Choices of news agencies were closer -- 27% of the English and 32% of the French journalists made this choice.

In addition to the language differences there also seemed to be some significant differences between Press Gallery journalists and editors' choices of television and newspapers. While only one in four of the editors chose





television about one half of the Press Gallery journalists did so. Also, while 36% of the editors chose newspapers, only 23% of the Press Gallery journalists did so.

Analyzed in detail, the "television" responses revealed clear linguistic differences. (See Table 10.1) There was a genuine tendency for a larger proportion of French than English journalists, in all occupational groups, to choose television as the medium which best serves to increase information between the various provinces. Also, when occupation was held "constant" for "newspaper" responses, it was also found there was a clear tendency for a larger percentage of English than French respondents in each occupational group to choose newspapers. Accordingly, in these two instances there seem to have been genuine linguistic differences between English and French responses.

However, when looked at in terms of occupational groupings, with language held "constant", there also were distinct differences between occupational groups. Thus, only one quarter of the English editors chose television, while over two-fifths of the English Federal Press Gallery journalists did so. Similarly, French editors "scored" lower (34%) than French Federal Press Gallery journalists, six out of nine of whom placed TV in first place.



JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF MEDIUM BEST SERVING TO INCREASE INFORMATION BETWEEN PROVINCES,  
BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS — HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language and Occupational Groups	Radio	Television	News Agencies	Newspapers	Other	No one Medium	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N.80)	1.3	20.0	30.0	41.3	1.3	5.0	1.3	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.24)	0	37.5	33.3	20.8	0	8.3	0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	2.0	44.0	20.0	28.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.154)	1.3	30.5	27.3	33.8	1.3	4.5	1.3	100%
French Editors (N.47)	2.1	34.0	34.0	27.7	2.1	0	0	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	0	53.3	33.3	13.3	0	0	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	0	66.7	22.2	11.1	0	0	0	100%
All French Journalists (N. 71)	1.4	42.3	32.4	22.5	1.4	0	0	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 92 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



Similarly, when newspaper responses were analyzed, it was found that two out of five English editors chose newspapers, while only about one quarter of all English Press Gallery reporters did so. Likewise, over one quarter of French editors chose newspapers while only one-tenth of French Press Gallery journalists did so.

Clearly, then, both strong language and occupational differences were present in responses to the question as to which medium best serves to increase information between the various provinces of Canada with editors and English journalists choosing newspapers and French journalists and Gallery reporters preferring television.

When asked to evaluate the relative efficiency of the various media in increasing information between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, again, responses seemed to show a tendency for a larger proportion of French than English to name television or news agencies and a tendency for a larger proportion of English than French respondents to designate newspapers.

An examination of television responses showed that while only about one quarter of English editors named television, two-fifths of the French editors did so, and while only about one quarter of the English Provincial Gallery journalists chose television, three-fifths of the French Provincial Gallery reporters did so. (See Table 10.2)





TABLE 10.2

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF MEDIUM BEST SERVING TO INCREASE INFORMATION BETWEEN ENGLISH- AND FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS --- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language and Occupational Groups	Radio	Television	News Agencies	Newspaper	Other	No one Medium	No Opinion	Total
English Editors (N.80)	2.5	22.5	21.3	38.8	0	11.3	3.8	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.25)	0	24.0	12.0	48.0	0	12.0	4.0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.50)	2.0	32.0	26.0	30.0	0	6.0	4.0	100%
All English Journalists (N.155)	1.9	25.8	21.3	37.4	0	9.7	3.9	100%
French Editors (N.47)	0	40.4	36.2	21.3	2.1	0	0	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	0	60.0	26.7	13.3	0	0	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	0	33.3	55.6	11.1	0	0	0	100%
All French Journalists (N.71)	0	43.7	36.6	18.3	1.4	0	0	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 93 of interview schedule. See Appendix A of this report.



However, in the Federal Press Gallery this linguistic difference was not apparent with nearly a third of both English and French respondents regarding television as the most effective communications media.

In both the previous question, which asked for an evaluation of the efficiency of the various media in carrying inter-provincial news and even more so in the present question, inquiring about the efficiency of the media in carrying information between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, the English were less favourably disposed to news agencies. This initial impression was reinforced by "controlling" for occupation and exploring for differences in language. Accordingly, while 56% of the French Ottawa reporters chose agencies in this question, only 26% of the English Ottawa correspondents did so, and while 26% of the French Provincial Gallery reporters selected agencies, only 12% of the English Provincial Gallery reporters did so. Among the editors, while only about one quarter of the English editors chose agencies, two-fifths of the French editors did so.

"Newspaper" choices, initial impressions suggested, would show a tendency for more English than French



respondents to choose newspapers. When examined, it was found that while only one (11%) French Ottawa correspondent chose newspapers, 15 (30%) of his English peers did so, and that while only two (13%) French legislative reporters chose newspapers, 12 (48%) of their English colleagues made the same choice. Finally, while 10 (21%) French editors chose newspapers, 31 (39%) English editors felt newspapers did the best job of increasing information between English- and French-speaking Canadians. Thus, the initial impression of a strong English preference for newspapers with a less strong preference for that medium by French journalists also was confirmed.

Therefore, for this question, it would seem that there is a definite correlation between journalists writing in French and choosing television or news agencies and those writing in English and selecting newspapers.

Looked at in terms of occupation, there appeared to be minimal differences between responses of editors and Press Gallery reporters. However, there did appear to be a very slight tendency for Ottawa Press Gallery journalists, regardless of language, to be less keen on newspapers than their editors, or Provincial Gallery colleagues.





In summary, there were differences in language group preferences as to the medium which operates as the best means of communication between Canada's two major linguistic groups. French journalists mentioning television and news agencies, English mentioning newspapers. No significant differences were found between occupational groups. Newspapers, news agencies, and television were rated almost equally by all three occupational groupings. Radio or other media were seldom mentioned as effective communication devices.

#### The Top News Agencies in English-French Relations

In considering the following evaluations of news agencies, it is important to realize that certain agencies do not provide copy in both French and English. In fact, only the Canadian Press prepares and distributes stories written in both languages. In addition, there are no agencies operating exclusively in French so this means that French-speaking journalists only have access to English agencies, apart from the limited number of stories in French from the Canadian Press.

While almost 80% of all respondents, and the majority of respondents in each language and occupational group, designated Canadian Press as the most accurate news agency in the field of English-French relations, rather interestingly, it appeared that a larger percentage





of French-speaking respondents than English respondents preferred C.P. Also, it seemed that a larger percentage of editors than Press Gallery reporters chose the Canadian Press. While 90% of the French respondents chose C.P. 75% of the English did so, and while 91% of the editors chose C.P. 66% of the Press Gallery journalists named it. Thus, there appeared to be a distinct language difference between respondents and an even more marked occupational difference in terms of "C.P." responses.

Language and occupational differences also appeared in "Southam" responses. While 22% of the English chose Southam, three per cent of the French did so. While 27% of the Press Gallery reporters chose Southam, seven per cent of the editors named this agency.

When "Southam" responses were looked at, English-speaking respondents in each occupational group scored considerably higher percentages that did their French-speaking peers. (See Table 10.3) In fact, in two cases -- French editors and French Federal Press Gallery reporters -- no one mentioned Southam. However, it should be remembered that Southam News Service stories are not readily available to French-language papers. Also, "Southam" news items



TABLE 10.3

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF "MOST ACCURATE" NEWS AGENCY COVERAGE  
IN THE FIELD OF ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS, BY LANGUAGE AND OCCU-  
PATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language and Occupational Groups	Canadian Press	United Press International	Free Press Publications	Southam News Service	Others	Total
English Editors (N.75)	88.0	0	1.3	10.7	0	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.21)	66.7	0	0	33.3	0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.45)	57.8	0	2.2	35.6	4.4	100%
All English Journalists (N.141)	75.2	0	1.4	22.0	1.4	100%
French Editors (N.43)	95.3	4.7	0	0	0	100%
French Provin- cial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	73.3	13.3	0	13.3	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.9)	88.9	0	0	0	11.1	100%
All French Journalists (N.67)	89.6	6.0	0	3.0	1.4	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 102 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



are not readily available to non-Southam English-language papers, i.e. the majority of papers in the "editors" sample.

More interesting, were the "C.P." responses, which included 80% of all responses. Here, it was found that while 88% of the English editors and a "large" 95% of the French editors chose C.P., the Press Gallery journalists scores were less.

Most marked was the difference between the English editors (88%) and the English Federal Press Gallery reporters (58%) choosing C.P. Lowest for the French were the French i.e. Quebec Provincial Press Gallery journalists, 73% of whom chose C.P. Overall, a clear occupational difference was seen with Press Gallery reporters being less inclined to choose C.P. than their editors.

Both marked occupational and language differences then were seen in responses. Proportionally more French than English respondents at every working level chose C.P. and more English than French chose Southam News Service. Similarly, editors were more likely to select "C.P." as the most accurate agency covering English-French relations than were their Gallery colleagues.





Next, the same respondents were asked to select the agency they felt was the most thorough in the field of English-French relations. Again, eight out of 10 of the respondents named the Canadian Press. Once again, marked occupational differences appeared to be present in responses, with 90% of the editors choosing C.P. and six per cent choosing Southam, but, 70% of the Press Gallery journalists choosing C.P. and 25% selecting Southam. Therefore, editors seemed to be more favourably disposed to the Canadian Press than were the Gallery writers.

Language differences, on first inspection, seemed to be still present, but in much less magnitude than in the previous question concerning accuracy of coverage. Here, about 80% of both French and English regarded "C.P." as the news service providing the most exhaustive examination of English-French relations. The English-French differences clearly seemed to be less than in the previous section.

Detailed examination of the "C.P." responses revealed no consistent tendency for more English-speaking respondents in each occupational group to choose C.P. more or less often than their French-speaking equivalents would choose it. (Table 10.4) Not surprisingly, "Southam" responses seemed to reveal a tendency for English-speaking journalists in each occupational group



TABLE 10.4

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF "MOST THOROUGH" NEWS AGENCY COVERAGE  
IN THE FIELD OF ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS, BY LANGUAGE AND  
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language and Occupational Groups	Canadian Press	United Press International	Free Press Publications	Southam News Service	Others	Total
English Editors (N.77)	90.9	0	0	7.8	1.3	100%
English Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.22)	68.2	0	0	31.8	0	100%
English Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.46)	65.2	0	2.2	26.1	6.5	100%
All English Journalists (N.145)	79.3	0	0.7	17.2	2.8	100%
French Editors (N.44)	88.6	9.1	0	2.3	0	100%
French Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.15)	86.7	0	0	13.3	0	100%
French Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.8)	50.0	12.5	0	25.0	12.5	100%
All French Journalists (N.67)	90.1	3.3	0	5.8	0.8	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 103 of interview schedule.  
See Appendix A to this report.



to score higher percentages than their French colleagues. However, because Southam News Service stories are not readily available in the French language, this result may be deceptive.

When examined for occupational differences, it was found that more English and French editors seemed to choose C.P. than did Gallery reporters. Of the three occupational groups, Ottawa correspondents chose C.P. least. Among those choosing Southam News Service, Press Gallery journalists scored highest and editors lowest. Once again, because Southam News Service is a private English agency, these latter responses may not be too meaningful.

Therefore, while there were no significant language differences between responses, there was a tendency for editors to choose C.P. more often than Ottawa journalists, of either language group. Choice of C.P. as the most thorough agency, then, would seem to result more from occupation or location of respondents than from their language.

#### The Top Daily Newspapers in English-French Relations

As Table 10.5 shows nearly half the English and one quarter of the French journalists chose the Toronto Globe and Mail as the most accurate daily newspaper in the field of English-French relations. In addition,





TABLE 10.5

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE "MOST ACCURATE" CANADIAN DAILY NEWSPAPER IN THE FIELD OF ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION --- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	Globe and Mail	Le Devoir	La Presse	Ottawa Journal	Montreal Star	Some Other English-Language Newspaper <sup>2</sup>	Some Other French-Language Newspaper	No Opinion No Answer	Total
English Journalists (N.115)	43.2	10.3	4.5	5.8	5.8	12.3	.6	17.4	100%
French Journalists (N.71)	33.8	23.9	9.9	5.6	1.4	4.2	11.3	9.9	100%
By Occupation									
Editors (N.127)	33.9	15.0	7.1	7.9	4.7	10.2	4.7	16.5	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.99)	48.5	14.1	5.1	3.0	4.0	9.1	3.0	13.1	100%
Total - All Journalists (N.226)	40.3	14.6	6.2	5.8	4.4	9.7	4.0	15.0	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 104 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.

<sup>2</sup> No other paper was mentioned more than nine times.





more than a third of the French respondents favoured Le Devoir. To be specific, while 43% of the English chose the Toronto morning newspaper, 34% of the French did too, and while 34% of the editors selected it, 49% of the Gallery reporters did. The next most popular choice was also a morning newspaper, the Montreal French-language Le Devoir. This newspaper was selected by relatively similar percentages of both editors and Gallery correspondents, but there seemed to be a language difference among respondents designating this paper as the "most accurate". Thus, while 24% of the French named it, 10% of the English did so.

The results of the question asking respondents to nominate the most thorough newspaper in the field of English-French relations are summarized in Table 10.6.

The Globe and Mail was named by the majority of Gallery reporters and by 26% of the editors, by 48% of the English, and by 26% of the French. Although the Globe and Mail was the paper most favoured by the English respondents, it dropped to second place among the French. The French-language daily Le Devoir was most favoured by French journalists. It was named by 26% of the French and by 10% of the English newsmen, and by 23% of the editors and by 13% of the Gallery reporters. Interestingly, the Montreal Star was named by 12 English (eight per cent) but by only



TABLE 10.6

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF "MOST THOROUGH" NEWSPAPER IN THE FIELD  
OF ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION --  
HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES

By Language	Globe and Mail	Le Devoir	Montreal Star	La Presse	Montreal Gazette	Some Other English- language Paper <sup>2</sup>	Some Other French- language Paper	No Opinion No Answer	Total
English Journalists (N.154)	48.1	10.4	7.8	0.6	4.5	9.1	0.6	18.9	100%
French Journalists (N.72)	26.4	36.1	2.8	15.3	1.4	1.4	6.9	9.7	100%
<hr/>									
By Occupation									
Editors (N.127)	26.0	22.8	7.9	7.1	3.1	9.4 <sup>3</sup>	3.9	19.8	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.99)	60.6	13.1	4.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	1.0	11.1	100%
<hr/>									
Total - All Journalists <sup>2</sup> (N.226)	41.2	18.6	6.2	5.3	3.5	6.6	2.7	15.9	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 105 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.

<sup>2</sup> No paper included here was mentioned more than four times.



two French (3%) newsmen, while Montreal's large French-language daily La Presse was nominated by 11 French (15%) but by only one (.6%) English journalist.

The Canadian journalists interviewed in this study after being asked for their views on the most accurate and thorough agencies and dailies also were allowed to comment freely on newspaper coverage of English-French relations.

Thirty-six per cent of all the respondents had no other comments to make, and only seven per cent made comments that were not covered in the coding scheme. The results of this open-ended question are summarize in Table 10.7.

When asked for general comments it is noteworthy that the idea most often expressed by both French and English writers and by both editors and Gallery journalists was the tendency to treat French-English relations in too sensational a style.<sup>1</sup>

Of those who expressed further feelings, 11% of the editors commented that coverage was on the whole inadequate. Eighteen per cent of the Gallery newsmen held this opinion.

While 25% of the editors charged that there was too much sensationalism, 35% of the Gallery reporters made this accusation of the press. Also, 39% of the French but 26%

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<sup>1</sup> See also Chapter VII.





TABLE 10.7

JOURNALISTS' "OTHER COMMENTS" ON CANADIAN DAILIES' COVERAGE OF ENGLISH/FRENCH RELATIONS, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	"On the Whole" Adequate	"On the Whole" Inadequate	Too Much Sensationalism	Lack of Interest in regional coverage	Lack of Interest in English/French coverage	Some Other Comment	Total
English Journalists (N.104)	22.1	17.3	26.0	16.3	11.5	6.7	100%
French Journalists (N.41)	9.8	7.3	39.0	7.3	17.0	19.5	100%
<hr/>							
By Occupation							
Editors (N.73)	21.9	11.0	24.7	13.7	15.0	13.7	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.72)	15.3	18.0	34.7	13.9	11.1	6.9	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 106 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



of the English were moved to mention what they felt was too much sensationalism in reporting French-English events. Ten per cent of the French but 22% of the English felt coverage was on the whole adequate.

On further examination, English respondents, in each occupational group, more so than French journalists, mentioned that coverage was on the whole adequate. The English editors (28%) felt particularly strong on this matter.

"Sensationalism" in the coverage of English-French relations was charged more by French -- 33% for editors, 67% for Provincial and 38% for Federal Gallery -- than by English -- 20% for editors, 40% for Provincial and 28% for Federal Gallery -- newsmen. This ties in with the findings of Chapter VII where the French were more aware of extremist coverage. On one type of English written media, one English-speaking observer has commented:

Canada's popular English magazines make little attempt to dramatize or explain French Canada to their readers except in terms of the sensational (accounts of terrorist violence), the "colourful" (picture stories on the St. Jean Baptiste parade) and the "controversial" (usually profiles of René Levesque).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Compton, N., Essay..., P. 28.



## Reading Habits and the Ideal Newspapers

Finally, the Canadian journalists were asked to nominate, in their opinions, and from those they read, which daily newspapers were closest to their "ideal" of a daily newspaper. Five categories were suggested: English-language Canadian, French-language Canadian, British, American, and European dailies. This was done mainly because it was hoped that answers would provide some data on the "best" papers in Canada and in the English- and French-speaking worlds today, as seen by the reporters and editors who supply English- and French-language Canadian dailies with news. It also might give some indication of the interest of English-speaking journalists in the French press, and French-speaking journalists in the English-language press.

The results of the question were obtained by post-coding and tabulating results by hand. Table 10.8 provides data on Canadian political journalists and editors views on the Canadian English-language newspaper most closely approximating their conceptions of "ideal" newspapers.

The most popular choice among English and French respondents, Press Gallery reporters and editors, was the Toronto Globe and Mail, which was particularly favoured by Gallery reporters, 37% of whom named it. The next two choices were the Montreal Star and the Montreal Gazette.



Interestingly, too, only 21% of the French journalists said that they did not read any English-language Canadian daily newspaper, while 13% of the editors and eight per cent of the Gallery reporters read none.

Since no attempt was made to group respondents into language and occupational groups, the analysis is, of necessity, somewhat limited.

It is also interesting to note that while 21% of the French journalists read no English-Canadian daily newspaper, 53% of the English read no French-language Canadian daily newspaper (See Table 10.9). Le Devoir was the most popular choice among French papers by both English and French respondents. It appeared to be one of the few French-language Canadian daily papers read by the English-speaking Canadian journalists in this study. Once again, as with the question on the English-language Canadian daily, a large share of Gallery journalists than editors named the first choice, Le Devoir.

As for the foreign press, the "top" United States newspaper in the opinion of these Canadian journalists would seem to be the New York Times, which was named by 28% of the English and by 10% of the French journalists and by 29% of the Gallery reporters and 17% of the editors (Table 10.10). Not surprisingly, 82% of the French journalists but only 26% of the English newsmen read no





TABLE 10.8

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE "IDEAL" ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CANADIAN NEWSPAPER,  
(I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	Toronto Globe and Mail	Montreal Star	Montreal Gazette	Vancouver Sun	Toronto Star	Winnipeg Free Press	Toronto Telegram	Some Other Paper?	Do not read Any	No Opinion	
										Refuse	Total
English Journalists (N.155)	30.9	9.0	7.1	5.8	5.2	3.2	5.2	21.9	6.5	5.2	100%
French Journalists (N.71)	23.9	7.0	7.0	1.4	2.8	5.6	0	12.7	21.1	18.3	100%
By Occupation											
Editors (N.127)	22.0	6.3	9.4	6.3	5.5	3.4	5.5	17.3	13.3	11.0	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.99)	37.4	11.1	4.0	2.0	3.0	5.1	1.0	21.2	8.1	7.1	100%

1 Based on answers to Question 101 of interview schedule. See Appendix A of this report.

2 No paper in the group was mentioned more than five times.



TABLE 10.2

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE "IDEAL" FRENCH-LANGUAGE CANADIAN NEWSPAPER, BY LANGUAGE AND BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	Le Devoir	La Presse	Le Soleil	Le Droit	Some Other French-language Paper	Do Not Read Any	No Opinion, No Answer, or Refuse	Total
English Journalists (N.155)	25.8	2.6	1.3	0.6	1.3	52.9	15.5	100%
French Journalists (N.71)	33.8	15.5	12.7	11.3	15.5	1.4	9.8	100%
<hr/>								
By Occupation								
Editors (N.127)	21.3	8.7	3.1	2.4	7.9	38.6	18.0	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.99)	37.4	4.0	8.1	5.1	3.0	34.3	8.1	100%
<hr/>								
Total - All Journalists (N.226)	28.3	6.6	5.3	3.5	5.8	36.7	13.8	100%

285.

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 101 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.



TABLE 10.10

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE "IDEAL" UNITED STATES NEWSPAPER, (I) BY LANGUAGE AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	New York Times	Washington Post	New York Herald Tribune	Chicago News	Milwaukee Journal	Some Other U.S. Paper <sup>2</sup>	Do not Read Any	No Opinion No Answer or Refuse	Total
English Journalists (N.155)	27.7	10.3	7.1	6.5	5.2	9.7	26.4	7.1	100%
French Journalists (N.71)	9.9	2.8				1.4	81.7	4.2	100%
<hr/>									
By Occupation									
Editors (N.127)	16.5	5.5	5.5	2.4	1.6	7.1	52.0	9.4	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (Fed. & Prov.) (N.99)	29.3	11.1	4.0	7.1	6.1	7.1	33.3	2.0	100%
<hr/>									
Total - All Journalists (N.226)	22.1	8.0	4.9	4.4	3.5	7.1	43.8	6.2	100%

1 Based on answers to Question 101 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.

2 No other paper was named more than five times.





"American" daily newspaper. Similarly, 52% of the editors and 33% of the Gallery reporters read none.

Again, interestingly, 86% of the French journalists read no British newspaper. However, it also should be noted that 42% of the English-speaking Canadian newsmen read none either. Occupationally, 40% of the Gallery reporters and 46% of the editors read a United Kingdom newspaper. (See Table 10.11).

The Times of London, named by 21% of the editors and 17% of the Gallery men and by 25% of the English but by six per cent of the French respondents, was the most popular choice. It was followed by the Observer, nominated by nine per cent of the editors and by 14% of the Gallery journalists and by 16% of the English but three per cent of the French newsmen.

While three in ten French-speaking journalists read no European daily newspaper, six in ten English-speaking journalists were non-readers of European dailies. (See Table 10.12). This was, of course, not unexpected, and seemed to be the "converse" of the results of the question on the "ideal" British paper.

The most popular choice of the French - and of those English journalists who followed the European press - was Le Monde, chosen by 30% of the Canadian French-language



TABLE 10.11

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE "IDEAL" BRITISH NEWSPAPER, BY LANGUAGE  
AND BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	The Times	The Observer	The Guardian	The Express	Some Other Paper <sup>2</sup>	Do Not Read Any	No Opinion No Answer or Refuse	Total
English Journalists (N.155)	25.2	15.5	2.6	1.9	4.5	41.3	9.0	100%
French Journalists (N.71)	5.7	2.8	1.4	1.4	1.4	85.9	1.4	100%
<hr/>								
By Occupation								
Editors (N.127)	20.5	9.4	2.4	1.6	2.4	59.1	4.6	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (N.99)	17.2	14.1	2.0	2.0	5.1	50.5	9.1	100%
<hr/>								
Total - All Journalists (N.226)	19.0	11.5	2.2	1.8	3.5	55.3	6.7	100%

1

Based on answers to Question 101 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.

2

No paper was named more than twice.



TABLE 10.12

JOURNALISTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE "IDEAL" EUROPEAN NEWSPAPER, (I) BY LANGUAGE  
AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES<sup>1</sup>

By Language	Le Monde	Le Figaro	Paris Soir	Some Other Paper	Do Not Read Any	No Opinion No Answer or Refuse	Total
English Journalists (N.155)	7.1	3.9	2.6	3.2	61.3	21.9	100%
French Journalists (N.71)	29.6	14.1	9.9	8.4	31.0	7.0	100%
<hr/>							
By Occupation							
Editors (N.127)	13.4	5.5	3.9	5.5	49.6	22.1	100%
Press Gallery Journalists (Fed. & Prov.) (N.99)	15.2	9.1	6.1	4.0	54.5	11.1	100%
<hr/>							
Total - All Journalists (N.226)	14.2	7.1	4.8	4.8	51.8	17.3	100%

<sup>1</sup> Based on answers to Question 101 of interview schedule. See Appendix A to this report.





journalists. About half as popular was Le Figaro, picked by 14% of the French and also by four per cent of the English newsmen.

Thus, certain English and French-language daily newspapers -- Canadian, United States, British or French -- read by the journalists interviewed were seen as being nearly "ideal". In itself, these findings shed some light on the "top" papers.

However, in addition, an analysis of "do not read any" replies shows some equally interesting results.

TABLE 10.13

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT READ ANY  
DAILY NEWSPAPERS, BY LANGUAGE GROUP

Categories of "Ideal" Papers

Language	English- language Canadian	French- language Canadian	United States	British	European (French)
English- speaking	7	53	26	41	61
French- speaking	21	1	81	86	31

Table 10.13 shows that while only one per cent of the French-speaking journalists read no French Canadian daily paper, seven per cent of the English read no English Canadian daily.





However, the French were more "cross cultural" than were the English in their domestic reading habits. Well over twice as large a proportion of English as French journalists read no paper of the other language group. Interestingly, many English read no European papers and, similarly, many French read no U.S. or British dailies.

### Summary

French more than English respondents chose television, while English more than French and editors more than Gallery reporters chose newspapers, as the best medium serving to increase information between the provinces. French more than English preferred television, and, also, news agencies, while English more than French chose newspapers, as the best medium serving to carry news between English- and French-Canadians.

Overwhelmingly, the Canadian Press was selected as the most accurate and also the most thorough news agency in Canada in covering English-French relations. However, editors more than Gallery men, and French rather than English tended to be keenest on it as the most accurate agency. Editors more than Gallery reporters saw it as the most thorough.

The most accurate and the most thorough newspapers in English-French relations were the Globe and Mail and Le Devoir.



The most frequent comment -- particularly by French journalists -- on newspaper coverage of English-French relations was the criticism that some newspapers tended to treat news of this sort in too sensational a style.

As for "ideal" newspapers, the Globe and Mail and Le Devoir again were the most popular Canadian papers. Interestingly, a larger proportion of French-Canadian journalists read English-Canadian dailies than English-Canadian journalists read French-Canadian papers. Not too astonishingly, few French-Canadian journalists read British or U.S., and few English-Canadian journalists read European newspapers. Le Monde was the most popular in Europe, with The Times, of London and the New York Times being the British and U.S. favourites.



## CONCLUSIONS

As was outlined in Chapter 1, the present study was not undertaken to provide a recitation of the writer's personal prescriptions for dealing with problems in media coverage of English-French relations. Rather, the project was conceived, in the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, as an empirical study of the role of the "mass communications media in promoting bilingualism" and "better cultural relations in Canada". The strict empirical nature of the study prevents the writer making any sweeping value judgements on these subjects.

Yet, the use of a representative sample and a personal interview and the inter-disciplinary approach of the study do permit the examination of certain value judgements on these subjects made by the journalists themselves and the experts who have examined the journalistic scene in Canada. Thus, one finds certain sections of the report potentially fruitful for the policy-maker in English-French relations. Here, the reader will be referred to certain sections of the volume to get an idea of the type of reception that would be given to policies that he might like to see enacted.

Generally, it may be said, language differences were found to be much more common than occupational differences.





The reader's attention is drawn to the major language and occupational differences mentioned in the summaries at the end of Chapters II to X. However, a few of the highlights may bear repeating.

While Chapter I deals with the role theory which has informed this study, Chapter II, through secondary data, goes on to sketch the concentration of ownership and circulation of Canada's written press, its coverage of national issues, its dependence on news agencies for this national news, and the unique position of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa, whose approximately 100 members have almost a monopoly over gathering Ottawa-originated national news. (See Summary on Pp. 45-47).

Here, the dominant role in national news-gathering of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa, with its "club" atmosphere emerges. The dependence of almost all newspapers on the Canadian Press, particularly for "Ottawa" news, becomes clear too. Perhaps these two bodies should be earmarked for special attention by the policy-maker in English-French relations. Possibly, a more formal relationship of the Gallery with Parliament or the creation of a body such as the Press Council of the United Kingdom, or an emphasis on improving the educational, cultural, or linguistic backgrounds of Gallery Members might raise the standard of



coverage of English-French relations in Canada. The relatively low salary and educational levels of C.P. staff and the inadequacy of French-Canadian news coverage in English dailies, who depend on C.P., also might be dealt with by the policy-maker. Finally, steps might be considered to ensure the public interest adequately served by the chain dominated English daily and U.S. dominated English-language periodical press.

The next Chapter (III), in line with the general theme of Part I of the Report, takes an "overview" of the "profession" of journalism in Canada. This Chapter examines the "profession" through objective and subjective data. (See Summary on Pp. 83-84).

Generally, too, while few see journalism as a "profession", most journalists are happy to be working in it. It also seems rare to find high educational and experience levels combined in Canadian journalists. English journalists and editors seem the most experienced, while French and Gallery reporters seem to be the better educated.

Possibly interesting from the point-of-view of altering the status of Canadian journalism are the journalists' suggestions on how the standards in Canadian journalism might be raised. (See Pp. 74-83). For instance, French-speaking



journalists seem keen on greater professionalization or the establishment of a Code of Journalistic Ethics or a Press Council. English newsmen seem to favour better pay for journalists or better training.

Part II goes on to look at special problems in covering or getting news from the "capital" from the reporters' or editors' viewpoints. Chapter IV deals with the special status of the Ottawa Gallery, with the very high dependence of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on the Ottawa journalists and with the reporters' problems in getting news or making contacts. (See Summary on Pp. 126-127).

Since most "Ottawa" news comes from the Press Gallery, perhaps it is time for the Gallery's status to become more formalized, and the dominance of this group by the agencies and chains is recognized openly. Possibly too, since much Federal Government news is gathered or transmitted by the Gallery, the Status of Federal Government public information officers should be clarified. It is apparent that few (seven out of 85) journalists regularly use these staffs. Yet, their possible utility in providing information to Canadians is great. Perhaps, the suggestions of the Professional Institute of the Public Service (P. 108), on separating the departmental and ministerial information staffs is worth considering.





The former would deal with the press and Gallery on routine matters. The latter would be responsible for policy.

In addition, the strong dependence of the C.B.C. on a single body of some 40 newspaper journalists for their views on government policy is noteworthy. To obtain a more critical and independent perspective, it is imperative that the C.B.C. either increase its own staff coverage of "Ottawa" or turns more frequently to suitably qualified experts who are not Members of the Gallery.

Chapter V, looked at the editor's problems in covering Ottawa, and examined the perceived language and staffing problems of the papers when covering the Capital. There seemed to be difficulties for French-speaking editors in obtaining information in their own language. This points to the fact that many departments and agencies of government have been slow to provide information services in both official languages. Also, the editors seem to feel that there has not been any important incentives for them to increase their staff with bilingual appointments. (See Summary on P. 138).

Part III deals with the first main focus of the study- the function of the newspaper in Canadian society and especially in English-French relations. Chapter VI looks at the journalists' views about a newspapers' functions. The reader may





utilise the introductory section sketching these functions as seen by scholars of the press to see the variety of views on this popular topic. The most significant contribution of this Chapter, however, lies in its examination of our Canadian journalists' views on the functions of their employing organizations. Some quite distinct language, but very slight occupational, differences appear here. (See Summary on Pp. 170-171).

Both English- and French-speaking journalists seem to adhere to informing as the main function of the newspaper. However, English more than French seem keenest on this function. The English also emphasise the "watchdog" function. (See Pp. 166-170).

Generally, it seems the newsmen would like to give more prominence to the guiding and less to the entertaining functions. The French seem to subscribe to a more subjective or personalized style of reporting.

The second Chapter (VII) in this third Part focuses on the journalists' views of the functions of the newspaper in English-French relations. Here, too, the reader is provided with interesting comments by experts on this popular topic. In both this Chapter and Chapter II the content analyses of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism are used to examine the nature of bilingual-bicultural



coverage directly. Chapter VII also looks at the journalists' satisfaction with their papers' coverage of English-French relations and of English-or French-Canadian extremism. Open-ended questions on the functions of a newspaper in English-French relations (See Pp. 186-190), and the functions of their newspapers in English-French relations (See Pp. 190-193), also might interest the policy-maker. The suggested ways in which news papers could improve their coverage of English-French relations are also fruitful (See Pp. 196-203). In particular, the ideas of Neil Compton (See Pp. 202-203) and the suggestions from the briefs to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (See Pp. 198-201) ought to be considered. For instance, Compton's suggestion of bringing into existence an agency to translate stories from one official language into the other might be approved by the journalists.

The last Part of the Report (Part IV) concentrates on the journalist. Chapter VIII measures the degree of consensus of our journalists on their roles. It was found that, generally, the French seemed to be more aware of a subjective aspect of their role, the English less aware of this and more sure on the objective ("factual reporting") aspect of their role. (See Summary on Pp. 228-229).



Chapter IX again concentrates on English-French relations. (See Summary on Pp. 258-261). Here, we find the journalists' evaluations of their peers in gathering news on bilingual-bicultural subjects, their conceptions of their publics, and their awareness of editors' or publishers' policies. Very interestingly, nine out of 10 journalists felt they qua journalists, had roles to play in this area, if they had the resources. Nine out of 10 also made general suggestion as to how they might promote better understanding between the two linguistic groups. (See Pp. 256-7). This suggests that there is widespread interest among the journalists to take advantage of any opportunities that might be made available to learn about the "other culture". It is also interesting to see that the "top" journalists come from the large Montreal - Toronto papers and that the Gallery men in particular are aware of editorial policy and write for their editors.

The final Chapter (X) gauged the journalists' views on Canada's news agencies, newspapers, and mass media in general, (See Summary on Pp. 291-292). The journalists have some general comments to make on Canadian daily newspaper coverage of English-French relations which appear pertinent (See Pp. 279-281).

While it is interesting to note the fairly high value placed on Le Devoir and the Globe and Mail in covering





English-French relations, the extremely high level of satisfaction with Canadian Press in gathering news of this sort, is a little surprising, in view of the general feeling among the journalists that bilingual-bicultural news is inadequately covered.

For further insights the reader is referred to Appendix E ("A Partial Survey of Major Works Cited") and Appendix F. ("The Journalists' Reactions to the Journalists' Study"). The latter develops some of the themes mentioned earlier by analyzing the stories prepared by journalists after they had been interviewed for this study.

As has been mentioned, the present study was not conceived as an attempt to test hypotheses about French-English similarities or differences. Rather, it was seen as an exploratory venture into a relatively uncharted area of Canadian social life. However, built into the research design are features which would permit the use of tests of statistical significance or the construction of confidence intervals.

Also, greater confidence in the findings advanced in the present study could come from a more detailed examination by controlling for other variables (e.g. age, education, education, years of newspaper experience) and then seeing if



the language or occupational differences still hold up. Such an effort indeed might provide a richer understanding of the similarities and contrasts between French and English, and, thus contribute to greater mutual understanding.



## APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule Used in Journalists' Study

The portions of the interview schedule reproduced here were originally constructed in English. Careful procedures were used to ensure exact French translation of the meanings of the English questions. This involved agreement both before and after pre-test interviews on wording by several bilingual social scientists familiar with the various aspects of the project.

Questions used to obtain socio-demographic data are omitted.



88. A. To entertain, to act as opinion leader, to inform,  
are three functions among others that a newspaper  
may have:

In what order of importance do you think  
YOUR PAPER'S (or Agency's) READERS place  
them? (NO MULTIPLE ANSWERS)

Entertain	1	2	3
Act as opinion leader	1	2	3
Inform	1	2	3

- B. In what order of importance would YOU PERSONALLY  
consider them?

Entertain	1	2	3
Act as opinion leader	1	2	3
Inform	1	2	3

- C. In what order of importance would you think  
YOUR NEWSPAPER (or Agency) considers them in  
planning it's daily content?

Entertain	1	2	3
Act as opinion leader	1	2	3
Inform	1	2	3

89. What other functions might a paper (or agency)  
have?

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90. What do you feel should be the function of the English-Language Newspaper in the field of relations between English and French-speaking Canadians?  
 (PROBE) (RECORD VERBATIM)

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91. In your opinion, on the whole, is the KIND or NATURE of news about English and French-Canadian relations (not editorials) published by your paper, at present, adequate, very adequate, or not very adequate to fulfill its functions as you have defined them?

Adequate \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Not Very Adequate \_\_\_\_\_ 3  
 Very Adequate \_\_\_\_\_ 2 Qualified (specify) \_\_\_\_\_ 4  
 No Opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_

92. What ONE means of communication, (newspapers, news agencies, radio or television or any other medium) does, in your opinion, best serve to increase information between the various provinces of Canada?

Radio \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Another medium \_\_\_\_\_ 5  
 (specify)  
 Television \_\_\_\_\_ 2 No one medium \_\_\_\_\_ 6  
 News Agencies \_\_\_\_\_ 3 No Opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 9  
 Newspapers \_\_\_\_\_ 4

93. What ONE means of communication, (newspapers, news agencies, radio or television or any other medium) does, in your opinion, best serve to increase information between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians?

Radio \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Another medium \_\_\_\_\_ 5  
 (specify)  
 Television \_\_\_\_\_ 2 No one medium \_\_\_\_\_ 6  
 News Agencies \_\_\_\_\_ 3 No Opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 9  
 Newspapers \_\_\_\_\_ 4



94. What do you feel should be the role of your paper (or agency) in the field of relations between English and French-speaking Canadians?

(PROBE)

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95. A. Could your paper (or agency) perform this role more adequately?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 1

No \_\_\_\_\_ 2 (GO TO QUES. 96)

No opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 3

- B. IF YES, how could it better perform this role?

(PROBE AND RECORD VERBATIM)

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No comment or refuse to answer \_\_\_\_\_ 9

96. If you were given the choice of being a Parliamentary correspondent for your newspaper, (or agency), at your province's legislature or at the Federal Parliament would you prefer to cover:

Your Province's Legislature \_\_\_\_\_ 1

The Federal Parliament \_\_\_\_\_ 2

No Opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 9



97. Which one post in journalism, ignoring salary, would you most like to fill?

Editorial writer _____	0
Managing Editor _____	1
Editor in chief _____	2
City Editor _____	3
News Editor _____	4
Press Gallery Correspondent _____	5
Editor of Editorial Page _____	6
Daily Columnist _____	7
Other _____	8
(specify)	

INTERVIEWER: RESPONDENT MAY NAME AN INDIVIDUAL MORE THAN ONCE. He does not have to name two in any one category but he may not name more than two. He should not include himself. WRITE CHRISTIAN AND SURNAME IN FULL

98. Among the (living) English-speaking Canadian Journalists of the written press you have met or whose work you have read, who are the TWO outstanding ones in each of the following categories?

a) On your paper's staff:	1) _____
	2) _____
b) In the same type of work as yourself?	1) _____
	2) _____
c) In the Press Gallery (Ottawa)	1) _____
	2) _____
d) In any branch of Journalism	1) _____
	2) _____





99. Among the (living) French-speaking Canadian Journalists of the written press you have met or whose work you have read, who are the TWO outstanding ones in each of the following categories?

- a) In the same type of work as yourself? 1) \_\_\_\_\_  
2) \_\_\_\_\_
- b) In the Press Gallery (Ottawa) 1) \_\_\_\_\_  
2) \_\_\_\_\_
- c) In any branch of Journalism 1) \_\_\_\_\_  
2) \_\_\_\_\_

100. Among the (living) English or French-speaking Canadian Journalists of the written press you have met or whose work you have read, who are the TWO outstanding ones in each of the following categories:

- a) In the same type of work as yourself? 1) \_\_\_\_\_  
2) \_\_\_\_\_
- b) In the Press Gallery (Ottawa) 1) \_\_\_\_\_  
2) \_\_\_\_\_
- c) In any branch of Journalism 1) \_\_\_\_\_  
2) \_\_\_\_\_



101. In your opinion, among those you read, which one English-language Canadian paper is closest to your ideal of a daily newspaper?

English-language Canadian Paper \_\_\_\_\_

Do not read any \_\_\_\_\_ 8

French-language Canadian Paper \_\_\_\_\_

Do not read any \_\_\_\_\_ 8

European paper \_\_\_\_\_

Do not read any \_\_\_\_\_ 8

American paper \_\_\_\_\_

Do not read any \_\_\_\_\_ 8

British paper \_\_\_\_\_

Do not read any \_\_\_\_\_ 8

102. The coverage of which one of the Canadian news agencies is the most ACCURATE in the field of English-French Canadian relations?

INTERVIEWER: DO NOT LIST - ONE CHOICE PLEASE

C.P. \_\_\_\_\_ 1

U.P.I. \_\_\_\_\_ 2

F.P. \_\_\_\_\_ 3

Southam \_\_\_\_\_ 4

Other Agency \_\_\_\_\_ 5  
(specify)



103. The coverage of which one of the Canadian news agencies is the most THOROUGH in the field of English-French Canadian relations?

INTERVIEWER: DO NOT LIST - ONE CHOICE PLEASE

C.P. \_\_\_\_\_ 1  
 U.P.I. \_\_\_\_\_ 2  
 F.P. \_\_\_\_\_ 3  
 Southam \_\_\_\_\_ 4  
 Other Agency \_\_\_\_\_ 5  
 (specify)

104. The coverage of which one Canadian daily newspaper is the most ACCURATE in the field of English-French Canadian relations?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 (SPECIFY - ONE DAILY ONLY)

105. The coverage of which one Canadian daily newspaper is the most THOROUGH in the field of English-French Canadian relations?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 (SPECIFY - ONE DAILY ONLY)

106. Do you have other comments on Canadian daily newspaper coverage on English-French Canadian relations?

(PROBE AND RECORD VERBATIM)

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_



107. Do you think your paper frequently, sometimes, occasionally, or never, devotes more time and attention to acts of French-Canadian "EXTREMISM" than you would like?

Frequently \_\_\_\_\_ 1      Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ 3  
 Sometimes \_\_\_\_\_ 2      Never \_\_\_\_\_ 4  
    No Opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 9

108. Do you think your paper frequently, sometimes, occasionally, never, devotes more time and attention to acts of English-Canadian "EXTREMISM" than you would like?

Frequently \_\_\_\_\_ 1      Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ 3  
 Sometimes \_\_\_\_\_ 2      Never \_\_\_\_\_ 4  
    No Opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 9

109. A. A journalist, may background, report, interpret, or editorialize in his writings. In what order of importance would you personally consider these functions?

Background	1	2	3	4
Report	1	2	3	4
Interpret	1	2	3	4
Editorialize	1	2	3	4

- B. What other roles might he have (toward Canadian society today?) (PROBE)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_





110. Do you think the English-Canadian journalist has a role in English-French Canadian relations today?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 3

No \_\_\_\_\_ 2 No Opinion-No Answer \_\_\_\_\_ 9

111. Do you think that you as a journalist have a role in English-French Canadian relations these days?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 3

No \_\_\_\_\_ 2 No Opinion-No Answer \_\_\_\_\_ 9

112. How could YOU as a journalist help promote understanding and national unity between English and French-speaking Canadians. (PROBE)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

113. As far as you know, does your paper have or not have, an editorial policy with regard to coverage of events in French-Canada?1

Has a policy \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Doesn't have a policy \_\_\_\_\_ 2

(ask QUES. 114 and 115) (GO TO QUES. 116)

Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 9

114. (IF PAPER HAS A POLICY)

As far as you know, is this policy to "play up" or "play down" stories about French-Canada?1

Play Up \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Something Else \_\_\_\_\_ 3

Play Down \_\_\_\_\_ 2 Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 9

- 
1. French-speaking respondents were asked about a policy on coverage of English-Canada.



## 115. (IF PAPER HAS A POLICY)

In general, do you always, usually, sometimes, or never agree with this policy on coverage of news about French-Canada? <sup>1</sup>

Yes, Always \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Never \_\_\_\_\_ 4  
 Yes, Usually \_\_\_\_\_ 2 Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_ 5  
 Yes, Sometimes \_\_\_\_\_ 3 Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 9

## 116. Do you often, sometimes, occasionally or never write about "BILINGUAL" or "BICULTURAL" subjects?

Often \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ 3  
 Sometimes \_\_\_\_\_ 2 Never (GO TO QUES.118) \_\_\_\_\_ 4

117. When you write on matters relating to English-French Canadian relations, which ONE of the following groups do you feel pays more attention to your stories:

(READ LIST TO RESPONDENT)

Your (Superior) Editors \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Policy Makers \_\_\_\_\_ 4  
 Your Colleagues \_\_\_\_\_ 2 Opinion Leaders \_\_\_\_\_ 5  
 All readers equally \_\_\_\_\_ 3 Other Persons \_\_\_\_\_ 6  
 (SPECIFY)

## 118. Do you often, sometimes, occasionally, or never have difficulty obtaining information in your own language (i.e. that in which you write) from Federal Government Departments or Agencies?

Often \_\_\_\_\_ 1 Occasionally \_\_\_\_\_ 3  
 Sometimes \_\_\_\_\_ 2 Never \_\_\_\_\_ 4  
 Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 9

---

1. French-speaking respondents were asked about a policy on coverage of English-Canada.



TO EDITORS AND LEGISLATIVE PRESS GALLERY REPORTERS ONLY

119. As far as you know, is your paper planning to enlarge or expand or extensively reorganize its Ottawa staff in the near future. (i.e. 2 yrs.)

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 1      No \_\_\_\_\_ 2      Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 9

120. Do you see any need to attract bilingual journalists to your paper?

Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 1      No \_\_\_\_\_ 2      Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 9

121. Does your paper intend or plan to increase the number of bilingual reporters on its staff in the near future. (i.e. next 2 yrs.)

The Ottawa Bureau      Yes \_\_\_1      No \_\_\_2      Don't know \_\_\_9

The Paper's Home  
Office      Yes \_\_\_1      No \_\_\_2      Don't know \_\_\_9

The Paper's out-of-  
town bureaux      Yes \_\_\_1      No \_\_\_2      Don't know \_\_\_9

122. If your Ottawa Gallery Correspondent cannot himself cover a debate in which both English-speaking and French-speaking Members of Parliament are likely to take part, and a story is needed, which ONE other Gallery Correspondent's story would you prefer he use? and why? (PROBE AND RECORD VERBATIM)

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OTTAWA PRESS GALLERY CORRESPONDENTS ONLY

123. If you cannot cover a debate in the House of Commons in which both English-speaking and French-speaking members of Parliament are likely to take part and decide not to use the copy of one of the agencies as the basis of a story you need, which ONE other newspaper journalist in the Gallery would you prefer to rely on for the story of for the details of the story? (PROBE AND RECORD VERBATIM)
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

QUES. 124 and 125 PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL PRESS GALLERY CORRESPONDENTS ONLY

124. When you prepare a story about an event in the (Provincial) Federal Administration, to what types of government, professional or other sources do you normally turn first for ideas about what to write and about where to obtain information?

INTERVIEWER: READ CATEGORIES IN EACH GROUP AND  
CIRCLE TOP PREFERENCE IN EACH GROUP

## A. GOVERNMENT SOURCES

Scheduled Function	_____	1
(Press Conference, "Cover the House")		
Information Office		
(P.I.O.'s; Press Releases)	_____	2
M.P.'s Tips	_____	3
Experts in Civil Service	_____	4
Top Officials	_____	5
Other Government Sources		
(specify)	_____	6



## B. PROFESSIONAL SOURCES

Colleagues \_\_\_\_\_ 1

Assignment (beat, scheduled event) \_\_\_\_\_ 2

A topical Item (news rewrite) \_\_\_\_\_ 3

Other professional sources  
(specify) \_\_\_\_\_ 4

**C. OTHER**

Friends	1
Informal Sources	2
Personal Curiosity	3
Other Sources (specify)	4

125. A. When you came to the capital, did you have difficulty making "contacts" in government departments?

No \_\_\_\_\_ 1    Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 2  
(GO TO QUES. 126)    Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 9

B. IF YES, was this difficulty due to your lack of knowledge of the other language or was it for other reasons?

Due to lack of knowledge Yes 1 No 2

Other reasons \_\_\_\_\_  
(specify)



QUES. 126 & 127 PRESS GALLERY (PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL)  
REPORTERS ONLY

126. Within a government department, to which level do you USUALLY go for your information? (CHOOSE ONE ONLY)

Minister\_\_\_\_\_ 1 P.R.O.'s\_\_\_\_\_ 4

Deputy Minister\_\_\_\_\_ 2 Some other level  
 (specify)\_\_\_\_\_ 5

Lower Officials\_\_\_\_\_ 3

127. Are these "contacts" numerically, mostly English-speaking, mostly French-speaking, or English-and-French-speaking equally?

English-speaking\_\_\_\_\_ 1 French-speaking\_\_\_\_\_ 2

Both equally\_\_\_\_\_ 3

INTERVIEWER: ASK REMAINING QUESTIONS ALL RESPONDENTS

128. Of the qualities listed on this CARD (VIII), what do you feel are the THREE most important qualities for a "good" newsman to possess. (Rank 1, 2, 3)

CARD NO.

VIII

- |                       |                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Intelligence       | 5. Pleasing Personality   |
| 2. Analytical Ability | 6. Physical Stamina       |
| 3. Good Character     | 7. Professional Integrity |
| 4. Education          | 8. Responsible Attitude   |

129. Do you feel that journalism is a profession?

No\_\_\_\_\_ 1 Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 2 Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 9



130. Do you plan to stay in journalism?

No \_\_\_\_\_ 1      Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 2      Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 9

131. Would you enter journalism again?

No \_\_\_\_\_ 1      Yes \_\_\_\_\_ 2      Don't Know \_\_\_\_\_ 9

132. Are you satisfied, fairly satisfied, or dissatisfied with your present position in journalism?

Satisfied \_\_\_\_\_ 1      Dissatisfied \_\_\_\_\_ 3

Fairly satisfied \_\_\_\_\_ 2      No opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 9

133. Are you satisfied, very satisfied or unsatisfied with the present standards in English-Canadian journalism?

Satisfied \_\_\_\_\_ 1      Unsatisfied \_\_\_\_\_ 3

Fairly satisfied \_\_\_\_\_ 2      No opinion \_\_\_\_\_ 9

134. What could improve the standards in Canadian journalism?  
(PROBE)

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## APPENDIX B

Sampling Notes

It was proposed to interview certain journalists or "Communicators" who handle national news with regard to their conceptions of the function of the Press and the role of the journalist in Canada today and their perceptions of the present Canadian situation, with particular reference to the problems and opinions surrounding relations between English- and French-speaking persons in Canada.

The study concentrated on attempting to interview all the members of the Ontario, Quebec and Canadian Parliamentary Press Galleries who wrote for the "written press" of Canada. In addition, five "key" editors on 22 English, and 11 French-language Canadian daily newspapers were to be interviewed.

The numbers and "types" of respondents, and responses and refusal rates will be dealt with first.



TABLE 1

## SUMMARY

CANADIAN PARLIAMENTARY PRESS GALLERY  
MEMBERSHIP - - SPRING 1966

Number of Members, spring 1966	112
Foreign or non-written media representatives	36
Canadian written media representatives	76
Canadian newspapers represented by own correspondents	19
Canadian newspapers represented by staff of more than one	9

Composition of Canadian Written Press  
 Contingent in Canadian Parliamentary Press  
 Gallery, by media and language - Spring 1966.

Type of Media	<u>Language of Journalists or Media</u>	
	English	French
	No. of Journalists	No. of Journalists
Daily Newspapers (by location)		
Toronto	12	0
Montreal	3	4
Ottawa	9	3
Others	16	2
Sub-total (Newspapers)	40	9
News Agencies		
Canadian Press	15	2
Southam News Service	4	0
United Press	0	0
International	3	0
Thomson	2	0
F.P.	1	0
Sub-total (Agencies)	21	2
Other written media	4	0
TOTAL	65	11



Composition of Sample:  
Response and Refusal Rates

As may be seen in Table 1, the number of Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery journalists who could be studied, according to the sample rationale, came to 76. Of these, 11 were French-speaking or wrote for French-language media, and 65 were English-speaking or wrote for English-language media.

A "potential" 110 "editors" worked for the English-language papers and 55 worked for the French-language papers.

The administrative results of the interviews are summarized in the Tables 2 and 3, which show the total possible number of interviews, the numbers of interviews completed, the number of refusals, and individuals absent or unavailable in each category. No substitutions were permitted.





TABLE 2  
ADMINISTRATIVE RESULTS OF INTERVIEWS,  
BY LANGUAGE AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

	Total possible number of interviews	Number of interviews completed	<u>Not completed</u>		Comments
			Refusals	Other <sup>1</sup> Reasons	
(English language)					
Editors	110	80	20	10	5 refusals on one Maritime paper and 5 on one Western paper
Provincial Press Gallery Journalists	35	25	2	8	See notes 2 & 3.
Federal Press Gallery Journalists	65	50	12	3	See notes 2 & 3.
(French language)					
Editors	55	47	5	3	See note 4.
Provincial Press Gallery Journalists	19	15	2	2	See notes 2 & 3.
Federal Press Gallery Journalists	11	9	0	2	See notes 2 & 3.
Total Canadian Journalists	295	226	41	28	See notes cited above.

NOTES:

- 1) "Other" refers to persons who were absent during the study, had left the position designated, had resigned or could not be reached to arrange an interview.
- 2) Corrections have been made in figures submitted by C.R.O.P. Inc., the interviewing agency employed in this study, to allow for interviews which had been conducted with persons not in the sample. These interviews were not coded. Accordingly, figures for "Total Possible Number of Interviews" cover only the number of assigned interviews in each category, i.e., the maximum number of positions determined by the sampling rationale.
- 3) Two French-language journalists were interviewed in English. The first, therefore, appears as an English Provincial Press Gallery Journalist and the second as an English Federal Press Gallery Journalist. No allowance has been made for these respondents in the above table.
- 4) Adjustment has been made for substitutions made by interviewers.



Expressed in percentages and based on total (theoretically) possible number of interviews, as defined in the sampling rationale, response and refusal rates were as follows.

TABLE 3

RESPONSE AND REFUSAL RATES, (I) BY LANGUAGE

AND (II) BY OCCUPATION -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES

(I) By language

Possible number of Journalists	Journalists who were interviewed	Journalists who refused to be interviewed	Journalists who were absent or unavailable
English (N.210)	73.8	16.2	10.0
French (N.85)	83.5	8.2	8.3

(II) By occupation

Editors (N.165)	77.0	15.2	7.8
Press Gallery Journalists (N.130) (54 Prov.) (76 Fed.)	72.2 (74.1 P.) (77.6 F.)	12.3 ( 7.4 P.) (15.8 F.)	11.5 (18.5 P.) ( 6.6 F.)
Total - All Journalists (N.295)	76.6	13.9	9.5

There initially seemed to be some "language" but few "occupational" differences between journalists who were interviewed or refused to be interviewed. Thus, while about eight out of 10 possible French journalists



were interviewed, only about seven out of 10 possible English ones were interviewed.<sup>1</sup> Almost twice as high a percentage of English as French newsmen refused to be interviewed.<sup>2</sup> There initially seemed to be no strong language or occupational differences for journalists who were absent or otherwise unavailable. Of course, it should be remembered that substitutions to the original list of respondents were not permitted.

All in all, 77% of the total theoretically possible number of journalists actually were interviewed, with 14% refusing to be interviewed, and 10% absent or who could not be reached.

When occupation was held "constant" it was found that there was a smaller proportion of English than French journalists in each occupational group who were interviewed. The smallest percentage difference appeared in the Federal Press Gallery.<sup>3</sup> The largest percentage difference occurred

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<sup>1</sup> See Table 2. The percentages for editors and Press Gallery Journalists were closer, 77% for the former and 72% for the latter.

<sup>2</sup> However, the editor-reporter percentage also was fairly close here.

<sup>3</sup> 77% for English and 82% for French journalists.



among editors, with 86% of French but only 73% of English editors being interviewed. There did not seem to be a consistent tendency for English more than French to refuse. In fact, in one category -- Provincial Press Gallery Journalists -- almost twice the proportion of French than English refused. There seemed to be no consistent "language differences" among absentee respondents.

With language held "constant", it became apparent that there were no strong "occupational differences".

TABLE 4

RESPONSE AND REFUSAL RATES BY LANGUAGE AND  
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS -- HORIZONTAL PERCENTAGES

Possible Number of Journalists (English Language)	Journalists who were interviewed	Journalists who refused to be interviewed	Journalists who were absent or unavailable
Editors (N.110)	72.7	18.9	8.4
Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.35)	71.4	5.7	22.9
Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.65)	76.9	18.5	4.6
(French Language)			
Editors (N.55)	85.5	9.1	5.4
Provincial Press Gallery Journalists (N.19)	78.4	10.5	11.1
Federal Press Gallery Journalists (N.11)	81.8	0	18.2
Total - All Journalists (N.295)	76.6	13.9	9.5





## Selecting the Editors

It was thought that quite likely the five editorial positions identified were found on each newspaper.<sup>1</sup>

Reference to the 1964 edition of Editor and Publisher Yearbook and the March 1966 edition of Canadian Advertising yielded occupants for all but 17 of the possible 145 positions in the original 29 papers.<sup>2</sup>

Preliminary examination, thus, tended to confirm that it was possible to identify these positions on the original 29 Canadian daily newspapers. It was also conceivable that these "missing" positions actually existed under another name, or that the functions were performed by several persons.

<sup>1</sup> See also Chapter I of this report.

<sup>2</sup> The distribution of "missing" positions between English and French papers in the original sample of 29 was as follows:

	English papers	French papers	Total for each position
Managing editor	1	0	1
Editor of the Editorial page	3	3	6
News editor	6	2	8
City editor	1	1	2
Editor (or editor-in-chief or Executive editor)	0	0	0
Total	11	6	17
Total possible positions	(5 times 29)	(equals)	145



To obtain an up-to-date list of the occupants of the five positions on the revised sample of newspapers necessitated a telephone call first to the Ottawa Press Gallery correspondent, if the paper concerned had one, or to one of the paper's editors. The person involved was then asked to name (or find out the name of) the incumbents of these five positions on his paper.

If the person approached could not provide the name of the incumbent because he was unsure of the functions of the position, he was asked to name the person who performed the appropriate editorial functions.<sup>1</sup>

This approach provided the latest information, not readily available by consulting periodicals such as the yearly Editor and Publisher, or Canadian Advertising which did not list all the chosen positions. Thus, it became possible to select one of the following persons from a large daily -- editor-in-chief, executive news editor, executive editor -- as the "editor" for purposes of the study.

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<sup>1</sup> Which were felt to be reasonable definitions of the functions of the positions in question. See Chapter I of this report.



Similarly, assistant editors normally were excluded from the study. If there were more than one editor of the same title, the senior in terms of employment in the position on the paper or the one who was senior in status (such as a day news editor as contrasted with a night news editor), would be selected to narrow the incumbents to one for the paper.

Accordingly, it became possible to select the appropriate editors on each of the newspapers involved in the original sample of 29 newspapers.

It was at this point that the number of French papers was expanded. The number of English papers remained the same -- 22 -- as in the original sample of 29 papers. Thus, the study of the editors involved a two-stage sample of editors for English papers - a selection of papers and a selection of editors. For the French papers the editors study was more of a "census" of the whole population: i.e. all those persons occupying the five editorial functions on French newspapers. The only French language paper left out was L'Evangeline of Moncton, New Brunswick.





## APPENDIX C

Pre-Interview Letter Sent to Respondents<sup>1</sup>

April the 18th 1966

Dear Sir:

As part of its general research program, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is undertaking a survey of English- and French-language journalists throughout Canada.

Your name is included in a representative sample of journalists which has been drawn up and the purpose of this letter is to request your cooperation.

The aim of this research project is to analyze the attitude of English- and French-speaking journalists to their respective milieux and to their own milieu.

In the next few days, a representative of an opinion survey firm will be in touch with you. He will inquire if you are willing to meet him to answer the questionnaire that has been prepared by the Commission and at what place and what hour.

Needless to say, the fact that you have answered the questionnaire and the replies which you may give will be treated as a strictly confidential matter. Your name and the answers you have given will be divulged to no-one. In fact, the surveying firm will employ a code which will ensure that even the commission's researchers will not know who has answered the questions.

If you are interested in knowing the results of this research project, we will be glad to send you a copy of them.

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<sup>1</sup> The French version is not reproduced here.



Thank you for the time which you may devote to the work of the Commission.

Yours sincerely,

Soucy D. Gagné  
Research Supervisor  
Mass Media Division



## APPENDIX D

CODING CATEGORIES

## (a) Descriptive Variables

No. of years experience in journalism

1. Up to 5 years.
2. 6 to 10 years.
3. 11 to 15 years.
4. 16 to 20 years.
5. 21 years and over.
6. No answer, etc.

Ethnic origin

1. British.
2. French.
3. Other (Canadian and Others).
4. No answer.

University Education

1. None.
2. Yes, but did not graduate.
3. Yes and graduated.
4. Yes and post graduate training.
5. No answer.



Occupation (or Type of Employment)

1. English-speaking editors.
2. English-speaking Provincial Press Gallery.
3. English-speaking Federal Press Gallery.
4. French-speaking editors.
5. French-speaking Provincial Press Gallery.
6. French-speaking Federal Press Gallery.

Type of Employing Organization

1. English-speaking newspapermen.
2. English-speaking agency or other journalists.
3. French-speaking newspapermen.
4. French-speaking agency or other journalists.

(b) "Open-ended" Questions<sup>1</sup>Question  
Number 89Other Functions of the Newspaper

1. To promote a cause (e.g. moderation; harmony; civic consciousness) or to act as a public forum for the discussion of ideas and problems.
2. To make money (i.e. business).
3. To educate or to lead opinion or promote culture (in the literary sense).
4. To serve as a market place (i.e. carry advertising).

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<sup>1</sup> The categories were agreed on after 25 English and 25 French interview schedules were randomly selected and post-coded by an English-speaking coder and by a French-speaking coder.





5. To investigate or observe (for the public):  
to be the public's "watchdog" or its "link"  
to government.
6. (not used).
7. Refuse.
8. Some other function.
9. No answer or no other function.

90. and  
94

Function of Newspaper in English-French Relations

1. To fully and fairly report (the) ideas or points-of-view or events (of the other language group) bearing on English-French Canadian relations.
2. To interpret one language group to the other or to promote good relations between them and work toward national unity (e.g. by telling English-speaking Canadians about French-Canadian aspirations and vice versa).
3. To encourage moderation and discourage extremism (e.g. editorially).
4. To emphasize "positive" happenings in the "other group" (rather than stressing adverse or negative news).
5. To urge or prepare readers for change (in the status or role of a region or a language group).
- 6.
7. Not used.
8. Some other answer.
9. No special role or no opinion as not applicable.



95B.      How to Better Perform Functions in French-English Relations.

1.      By having (or better employing) staff correspondents situated to cover the other language group's ideas, events or activities and English-French relations (e.g. Quebec).
2.      By recognizing there is a problem in English-French Canadian relations and by being less complacent.
3.      By avoiding the dramatic or sensational when possible.
4.      By having more coverage (i.e. staff and agency) on English-French relations and on the other language group.
5.      Not applicable (for English language respondents).
6.      By recruiting or training staff who are familiar with the affairs of the other language group (e.g. more travel for journalists, more bilingual journalists).
7.      By having more resources (i.e. income, or personnel, etc.)
8.      Some other suggestion.
9.      No other suggestion or no opinion.

106.      Other Comments on Newspaper Coverage of French-English Relations

1.      Present coverage on the whole generally adequate (or has recently improved).
2.      Present coverage on the whole generally (qualitatively or quantitatively) inadequate.
3.      Tendency for some (papers or journalists) to "sensationalize" or "emphasize" dramatic events or to show bias or be inaccurate.
4.      Not enough inter-regional or inter-provincial coverage (e.g. from Quebec or English-speaking provinces).



5. Many papers not interested in English-French relations or in news about the other language group.
- 6.
7. Not used.
8. Some other comment.
9. No opinion.

109B.     Other Roles of the Journalist

1. A means of encouraging or supporting culture.
2. A "mediator" between citizens (esp.) between English- and French-speaking peoples).
3. A "responsible" individual (e.g. avoid extremism: a conscientious worker: a "good citizen": fair minded).
4. An observer or investigator (of government or large interests, etc.).
5. An opinion leader (or educator or reformer).
- 6.
7. Not used.
8. Some other role.
9. No other role or no opinion.

112.     How Journalists could Promote Understanding Between English- and French-Canadian

1. Should understand the other group (e.g. by living among its members, or by studying its problems, ideas or history, etc.).
2. Should learn the other language.
3. Should emphasize news which favours national unity and good English-French relations.
4. Should emphasize the distinct differences (and contributions) of each region or language group.





5. Should avoid sensationalism (i.e. distorting the importance of news to gain readership) in covering the other language group or English-French relations.
6. Should "interpret" (or "background") one group to the other.
7. Should as thoroughly and accurately as conditions or ability permit (i.e. "objectively") report all news on English-French relations or about the other language group.
8. Some other role.
9. No special role, no opinion or not applicable.

134.      What Could Improve the Standards of Canadian Journalism

1. More professionalism (e.g. a written code of ethics: a governing association: a "feeling" of belonging to a profession).
2. More freedom for journalists to work or express themselves (e.g. more controversy, more leisure, less or different control over journalists).
3. Better recruitment and training (i.e. more experienced and/or better educated journalists: more schools of journalism).
4. More pay for journalists or resources for papers.
5. A more responsible attitude (e.g. an awareness of consequences of actions: more objective reporting).
6. More concern with journalist or cultural exchanges.
7. More specialization in reporting and more research or "backgrounding" of stories.
8. Some other suggestion.
9. No. opinion or no other suggestion.



## APPENDIX E

A Partial Survey of Major Works Cited

While there are numerous works cited throughout this report, certain publications and studies have been used more often or more intensively than others. The following book reports are intended to put several of these works in better perspective, so that the reader may more clearly grasp the scope and significance of each work seen as a whole.

Additionally, these reviews are intended to reduce the number of extensive quotations and references in the text of the report. The writer has selected the points to be summarized with particular reference to the problems being studied. This, of course, has necessitated the omission of many other "sides" to each of the works being reviewed.



Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication, Free Press, Glencoe, 1960.

This is perhaps the single best book on communications research. The book contains an excellent bibliography of literature on communications and communications research, and there is a summary at the end of each chapter.

The book deals with mass communications as an agent of persuasion and with the effects of specific kinds of communications. Klapper's analysis, based on a review of almost all pertinent literature, is critical and constructive and offers five tentative generalizations about mass communication. These are:

- 1) Mass communication ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences.
- 2) These mediating factors are such that they typically render mass communication a contributory agent, but not the sole cause, in a process of re-enforcing the existing conditions. (Regardless of the condition in question).
- 3) When a mass communication does function in the service of change, one of two conditions is likely to exist. Either:
  - a) the mediating factors will be found to be inoperative and the effect of the media will be found to be direct, or
  - b) the mediating factors, which normally favour reinforcement, will be found to be themselves impelling towards change.



- 4) There are certain residual situations in which mass communication seems to produce direct effects, or directly and of itself to serve certain psycho-physical functions.
- 5) The efficacy of mass communication, either as a contributory agent or as an agent of direct effect, is affected by various aspects of the media and communications<sup>1</sup> themselves or of the communication situation.

On the basis of his generalizations, he suggests a "phenomenistic approach" to research which would:

first require the determination of phenomenistic criteria - the commission of a crime, the display of particular psychological syndromes, or the like - and, secondly, an attempt to retrace the road which led individuals to the point of conforming to such criteria. This is to say that further information on the role of mass communication in the development of delinquency is more likely to come from the study of delinquency than from the study of mass communication.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. 8.

<sup>2</sup> P. 162.





Leo C. Rosten, The Washington Correspondents, Harcourt Brace, New York, 1937.

This project was a "pioneer" in the field of empirical research into political journalism and particularly into Washington political journalism. The writer sought the newsman's point-of-view to his work, his news sources, his publisher and his role. Rosten used a questionnaire to discover "who" were the correspondents: i.e. their social origins, their education, professional training, experience, the economic strata from which they came and the newspapers and magazines they had read. The second part of his work was concerned with what the correspondent believed. This involved the collection of data by a second questionnaire on their philosophy of politics their attitudes to jobs and publishers, which papers they considered to be reliable and which dishonest, their consciousness of newspaper policy and their conception of the freedom with which they were permitted to exercise their functions.

The study was exploratory, i.e. it was not designed to prove a preconceived thesis but rather to collect data on phenomena about which there was little or no material available, and to suggest hypotheses for later research.

Rosten also discussed the techniques the reporters used to gather the news in the "unreal" city of Washington, and



how the news was treated and why. In addition, he dealt with the problems and questions of getting an accurate picture of government's problems to the public, and touched on the human and technical factors entering into the process of informing the public about news events.

The "heart" of the study according to Rosten was in Part II, "Who They Are". Because absolute "objectivity" was impossible, Rosten felt that professional norms, economic status and individual temperament were important to the newsgathering process. These factors he examined in great detail. Rosten, like Breed<sup>1</sup>, found that the journalists he studied were "aware" of newspaper policy. He found a substantial percentage recalled having stories "played up" or "played down" for policy reasons.

The third part of the study dealt with the psychology of the correspondent, with the problems of "manufacturing" news when there is no real news and with the relationship of the press to democracy. Rosten too stressed the "business" nature of the enterprise and the problems that this nature causes.

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1. Breed, W., "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," Social Forces, Vol. XXXIII, May 1955, Pp. 236-335.



The book has a good bibliography, which was probably adequate for the era in which it was written. Aspects of Rosten's study have been replicated<sup>1</sup> several times.

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1. See Maxwell, J., "U.S. Correspondents Abroad: A Study of Backgrounds", Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXIII, 1956, Pp. 346-348; Kruglak, T., The Foreign Correspondents, Droz Library, Geneva, 1955; Lambert, D., "Foreign Correspondents Covering the U.S.", Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXIII, 1956, Pp. 349-356; Fisher, C., The Columnists, Howell Soskin, New York, 1944; Swanson, G., "Agitation Through the Press: A Study of the Personalities of Publicists", The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XX, 1956, Pp. 441-456; White, D., "The Gate Keeper: A Case Study in the Selection of News", Journalism Quarterly, Vol. XXXIII, 1950, Pp. 383-390.





Karl Deutsch, The Nerves of Government, Glencoe, New York, 1963.

"Cybernetics" Deutsch defines as "the systematic study of communication and control in organizations of all kinds"<sup>1</sup>. The basic concept is one of "a self-modifying communications network or 'learning net'. Such a 'learning net' would be any system characterized by a relevant degree of organization, communication and control, regardless of the particular processes by which its messages are transmitted and its functions carried out."<sup>2</sup>

Deutsch's comparison of the political system to the workings of a giant computer provides several useful theoretical concepts for the study of the function of media and particularly for the study of media in the Canadian context.

Thus, his notions of "efficiency" in transmitting and "feedback" in retrieving information, to this writer, would seem, to be very useful analogies for studying media in a bilingual nation, and particularly appropriate to contemporary Canadian problems.

From the amount of information transmitted as against the information lost, we may derive a measure of the efficiency of the channel, as well as of the relative efficiency or complementarity of any parts or states of the channel in relation to the others.<sup>3</sup>

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1. P. 76.

2. P. 80.

3. P. 81.



Feedback is defined as "a communication network that produces action in response to an input of information and includes the results of its own action in the new information by which it modifies its subsequent behavior".<sup>1</sup>

Deutsch puts forward the proposition that "governments and parties - that is, political systems or networks of decision and control - are dependent on processes of communication and they resemble certain aspects of man-made communication equipment and are dependent on the processing of information".<sup>2</sup>

Hence, the study of the forms and patterns of communications in a nation or society may provide some insight into the way decisions are made for that society or nation, and may even suggest means of "improving" the "efficiency" or "feedback" of this decision-making process.

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1. P. 145.

2. P. 88.



Douglas Cater, The Fourth Branch of Government, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1959.

According to Cater, himself a "participant observer" of the process of Washington newsgathering, the political reporter in the U.S. capital continues to lay great stress on the purely physical requirements of reporting in an age that more and more tends to emphasize understanding of complex phenomena.

Thus, according to Cater, "the reporter finds himself caught in an insufferable bind between the scientist and the politician and his readers."<sup>1</sup>

Cater's book provides many potentially useful insights and hypotheses for research in political communication, such, for example, as the suggestions that there are "forbidden" subjects or mores about which the journalist will not write<sup>2</sup>, or that there is a tendency to "play up" or "play down" news items.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, he comments on the ego satisfaction of seeing one's name at the head of a column of print and of helping to shape the course of government.<sup>4</sup>

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1. P. 177

2. P. 58

3. P. 16

4. P. 6



At a higher level of "generalization", his emphasis on the importance of the "dogmas" of what constitutes "news" as motivating the journalists occupational behaviour, might suggest research in this area.<sup>1</sup> He also recognizes a "feedback" effect in political communication, similar to Deutsch's or Easton's notions.

Cater concludes by calling for a greater recognition of the nature and function (in American society) of interpretative writing as opposed to "hard" news coverage or editorializaing.<sup>2</sup>

From a social scientific point of view, the insights provided by examination of more "traditional" literature such as this book would seem to be great. This book, in the opinions of this writer, adequately performs this hypothesis-suggesting function, and provides some useful details of the techniques of newsgathering in the United States.

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1. P. 16

2. P. 111





Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis", Social Forces, XXXIII, May 1955, Pp. 326-335.

"How policy comes to be maintained, and where it is bypassed, is the subject of this paper."<sup>1</sup> Policy is defined as the "more or less consistent orientation shown by a paper, not only in its editorial but in its news columns and headlines as well, concerning selected issues and events. Every newspaper has a policy, admitted or not."<sup>2</sup> Policy is manifested in "slanting", and yet no executive is willing to risk embarrassment by being accused of open commands to "slant" a news story.

The new "staffer" when he joins a paper is not told what policy is. Basically, "the learning of policy is a process by which the recruit discovers and internalizes the rights and obligations of his status and its norms and values. He learns to anticipate what is expected of him so as to win rewards and avoid punishments."<sup>3</sup>

Unless the staffer is naive, he tends to fashion his own stories after others he sees in the paper. Certain editorial actions taken by editors and older staffers also

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1. P. 326.

2. P. 327.

3. P. 328.



serve as controlling guides. These may involve "blue-pencilling" of stories or occasionally reprimands from a superior. "It seems that most policy indications from executives are negative."<sup>1</sup> Staffers also obtain guidance from their knowledge of the characteristics, interests and affiliations of their executives. This knowledge may come to them by gossip, by observing the executives at conferences or other events or from "house organs."

There are certain factors which create conformity. These include fear of sanctions, feelings of obligation and esteem for superiors, mobility aspirations, absence of conflicting group allegiances, the pleasant nature of the work, i.e. "in-groupness, its interesting nature and certain other non-financial perquisites, and the dominance of "news" as his main value. These six factors, according to Breed, promote conformity to policy. "As to the six factors, five appear to be relatively constant, occurring on all papers studied. The varying factor is the second: obligation and esteem held by staffs for executive and older staffers... Where this obligation and esteem entity was large... it did a good job of news-getting and news-publishing and second, it had little difficulty over policy."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. 329.

<sup>2</sup> P. 332.



The process of learning policy "crystallizes into a process of social control, in which deviations are punished (usually gently) by reprimand, cutting one's story, withholding of friendly comment by an executive."<sup>1</sup> However, there are instances in which a staffer finds his anti-policy stories printed. These occur when one or more of five factors are present: the norms of policy are not entirely clear; executives are ignorant of particular facts, and staffers, who do the "leg work" can use their superior knowledge to subvert policy; the staffer "plants" a story in another paper, and then appeals to his editor for permission to write about this new "important" item; staffers have "star" status and, hence, enjoy great autonomy; or, lastly, the reporter finds that he has more autonomy with some stories than with others. Breed differentiates between policy or campaign stories, assigned stories, beats and stories initiated by the reporter himself.<sup>2</sup> The latter two types provide the most, and the former two the least, autonomy from policy structures.

To correct this pattern, Breed suggests that leverage be applied to publishers from various sources. These would include: professional codes, journalism schools, the Guild, critics and readers.

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<sup>1</sup> P. 332.

<sup>2</sup> P. 333.





The newsman's source of rewards is located not among the readers, who are manifestly his clients, but among his colleagues and superiors. Instead of adhering to societal and professional ideas, he re-defines his values to the more pragmatic level of the newsroom group... Any important change toward a more "free and responsible press" must stem from various possible pressures on the publisher, who epitomizes the policy making and coordinating role.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> P. 335.



Dan D. Nimmo, Newsgathering in Washington, Atherton, New York, 1964.

Nimmo conducted interviews in Washington with a selected sample of experienced reporters and public information officers. His inquiry focused on how members of one group conceived the roles of members of the other group, and how the members of each group conceived their own roles. From this differentiation of role concepts, Nimmo constructed a classification of "news-source" and "news-channel" roles. On the basis of these classifications, he then provided data on the variables that influence the role concepts held by the two groups.

Nimmo also examined some significant issues in government-press relations by using the following as indices of role consensus. These include: conflicting definitions of the term "news"; the characteristics each group in his sample expects to find in "a good news story", such as the relative importance given to accuracy and reader interest; and the values which each group regards as important in its professional conduct. The latter issue required both groups of respondents to define the characteristics each valued most in the "good newsman", and the "good" information officer.

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<sup>1</sup> See Nimmo, Table 11, page 113.



Also examined were the attitudes of each group toward specific techniques of information-dispensing and newsgathering. These included: press conferences, background conferences, personal interviews, and "leaks".<sup>1</sup> Finally, Nimmo examined some of the issues of government-press relations, notably, the problems of governmental secrecy, news management, and press responsibility, and the role of the journalist (and the information officer) in "moulding" public opinion.<sup>2</sup>

The book also extensively utilizes role theory.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Nimmo's Table 5, page 83; Table 6, page 87; and Table 7, page 89.

<sup>2</sup> See Nimmo, Table 25, P. 184.

<sup>3</sup> As does Wahlke, et al. The Legislative System, Wiley, New York, 1962.



John C. Wahlke, Heinz Eulau, William Buchanan and Leroy C. Ferguson, The Legislative System, explorations in legislative behavior, Wiley and Sons, New York, 1962.

The research outlined in this book did not begin, Wahlke notes, with a theory to test nor did it end with one. It was exploratory and not definitive and had as its basic interest, the functioning of legislative institutions in the modern democratic milieu. Specifically, the project focused on the perceptions and behaviour of state legislators in four U.S. states.

The approach of this study was "behavioural", "institutional", and "functional". It was behavioural in that it was concerned with the behaviour of individuals (the legislators). It was institutional in that the individuals acted in institutional settings (legislatures). It was functional because it dealt with the performance of certain specific functions (decision-making, representative, legitimizing) by these legislators.

The authors charge that studies of legislatures have not always taken the interdependence of the three approaches into account and suggest the sociological, anthropological and social psychological notion of "role" as a useful way of tying together the concerns of these three approaches to the study of political science.





The notion of "role" yields a model of the legislators as acting human individuals, as well as an institutionalized human group, performing certain functions. "Role" as applied to an individual legislator is defined as "a set of coherent norms of behaviour which are thought by those involved in the interactions being viewed, to apply to all persons who occupy the position of legislator".<sup>1</sup> Role behaviour, then, refers to "those overt actions which result from legislators acting in conformity with norms included in the role".<sup>2</sup>

A basic postulate of the study was that the office of legislator is a clearly recognizable position in the four states studied and that legislators and many other persons in those states associate certain norms of behaviour with these positions and that a significant portion of the legislators' behaviour is role behaviour.

To study the role of legislators, then, was to study the particular sets of norms underlying relevant legislative behaviour, and to assume the "institutionality" of the actors behaviour and not their "individualism". "Role orientation" refers to a pattern of norms making up a particular role which may be contrasted with other patterns

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<sup>1</sup> P. 8

<sup>2</sup> P. 9



for the same role.<sup>1</sup> It refers to systematic differences in legislators' conceptions of a particular component of the role of legislator. More specifically, the research sought to explore the dimensions and range of the role orientations of the legislators and to relate it to the functioning of the legislatures and to certain variables which might influence legislators role concepts. For example, the writers found that all legislators studied, seem to have seen certain norms making up what the authors call their "representational" role. However, some conceive of that role in a way the authors call "politico", others as "delegate" and others as "trustee". These are "role orientations". Similarly, for the "purposive-role", there were "brokers", "inventors", or "ritualists", and for the "pressure group role", some were "facilitators", others "resisters" and others were "neutrals".

It might have been possible to study the problem of the conformance of role behaviour to role perceptions by investigation of the expectations about legislators' role behaviour entertained by others or by examining the sanction systems of society. However, because of the difficulties

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<sup>1</sup> P. 16



of observing overt behaviour of actors, it was decided to secure data primarily about legislators' role perceptions. This was permissible because the concept "role" refers to perceptual aspects of phenomena as well as to overt physical actions.

The final choice went to interviews with all the legislators themselves, utilizing a schedule with some closed-ended questions, but with many open-ended ones.





## SOME NOTES ON DAVID EASTON'S "POLITICAL SYSTEMS" APPROACH

In The Political System<sup>1</sup> David Easton had argued for the development of an empirically oriented political theory as the most expeditious way to understand political life. Since this book was written, he has developed his ideas in articles and in A Framework for Political Analysis<sup>2</sup> and A Systems Analysis of Political Life.<sup>3</sup>

The major function of the systems approach to theory is that it serves as a theoretical framework in which the results of various approaches can be incorporated, a general theory or outlook as opposed to waiting for piecemeal studies to meet one another. The study of politics, as he sees it, is concerned with how authoritative decisions are made and executed for a society. By combining the results of micro-cosmic investigations into the mechanisms of this process, he feels, a rough "picture" of what happens in a self-contained political system may be obtained. This "systems" approach involves examination not only of the operation of the parts but also the inter-relationships of the components to the whole system and to its related parts.

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<sup>1</sup> Knopf, New York, 1953.

<sup>2</sup> Prentice Hall, New York, 1965.

<sup>3</sup> John Wiley, New York, 1965.



To Easton, political life is a system of activity, which assumes for analytic purposes that "political" activity can be separated from other social activity and examined as a self-contained entity with internal functions and operations and with relationships to the environment -- the general social system. Political life is seen as the unit for analysis. What keeps Easton's system going are inputs of various kinds. These inputs are converted by the processes of the system into outputs and these in turn have consequences both for the system and for the environment in which the system exists.

Easton's political system has certain characteristics. These are: properties of identification, which distinguish the political from other social systems; inputs and outputs, (the relationship of inputs and outputs to the purpose of the system -- authoritative decisions -- characterize the system); differentiation or the division of labour within the system, which exists in all systems; and, integration of the system. Differentiation, which Easton regards as inevitable in almost any political system, implies that processes and structures exist to integrate the inner workings of the system.



Inputs are composed of supports and demands. Supports are attitudes and predispositions supporting the political system. These include the political community, norms, and attitudes, institutions of political socialization, and mobilization of support through parties. Demands, originating in the environment, include ecology, economy, culture, personality, social structure and demography. Demands from within the political system itself, that is demands which are developed within the political systems in anticipation of or to forestall possible demands from the environment, are transformed into issues by means of channels of communication, or "gate-keepers". Outputs are composed of decisions or policies, which, in turn, may be "fed back" through the environment to become inputs.



## APPENDIX F

The Journalists' Reactions to the Journalists' Study

Chapter II of this report sketched the special position of the Ottawa Gallery in newsgathering at the national level. Chapter IV touched on the attitude of these journalists, when queried by an "outsider", as to their news or idea sources. Similarly, the Ottawa journalists were seen as belonging to a rather exclusive "club", where Members sometimes tended to exchange stories and to consult their colleagues.

The press comments of the journalists on the journalists' study provide a rather interesting case study of some of these aspects. Moreover, since the writer, while in frequent contact with many of the Gallery men, was not known by them to have been involved directly in the study, he was able to hear comments of the Gallery journalists as they chatted with one another.

As far as the writer was able to ascertain, there have been only five stories on the study in the Canadian written and electronic media. Interestingly -- in view of the closeness of the Gallery Members, as outlined in this report -- was the fact that all five journalists were Members of the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa.





Moreover, almost all of the comments in these articles were directed toward biases in the section of the interview schedule prepared by a Montreal French-speaking anthropologist, whose project is not dealt with in this report. However, there also were a few interesting comments on some of the aspects of the project dealt with in this report.

One of the first public references to the study seems to have occurred on Norman DePoe's April 30 nation-wide television programme<sup>1</sup>. Although DePoe worked for the "spoken press" and was not included in the sample, he had been interviewed after the research staff heard from several sources that he wished to be interviewed. However, his interview schedule was not coded or used in the analysis of this report. This television commentary seemed to have made "being interviewed by the 'By' and 'By'" something of a status symbol.

In Chapter IV, we saw that the Gallery journalists have been charged with -- and to some extent admit -- "interviewing each other" or using other journalists to get ideas. The press comment on this section of the study provides us with some quite interesting "case study" material on this subject.

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<sup>1</sup> Weekend Report, CBC TV, April 30, 1966.



For example, DePoe mistakenly -- but understandably since he did not have an interview schedule to verify the matter -- thought the schedule had asked him to "Name the three most influential English-speaking journalists in Canada"<sup>1</sup> . While the first part of the study, prepared by a French-speaking Montreal researcher, required respondents to nominate three "influential" persons in different categories, journalists were not included. In this study, questions 98, 99 and 100,<sup>2</sup> as the reader can see, require two answers, but make no mention of the nebulous term "influential". Furthermore, none of the data from these questions were used in this study.

Almost simultaneously, another journalist (Charles Lynch) commented:

All sorts of professional appraisals of my colleagues and my professional peers were required. Who did I admire most? Who was the most influential?<sup>3</sup>

Interestingly, too, a third story by Gerald Waring recalled the following:

Name, he (the interviewer) said, the three most influential Canadian journalists.  
Name, he said, the most influential member of the Press Gallery.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit. (Underline added).

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A to this report.

<sup>3</sup> The Ottawa Citizen, April 29, 1966, the article also appeared in other Southam newspapers. (Underline added).

<sup>4</sup> The Charlottetown Guardian, May 4, 1966. The article also appeared in other newspapers. (Underline added).



The repeated appearance of this same error certainly might make one wonder about the memory or reporting skill of some of the journalists.

While the fourth and fifth journalists did not refer to the non-existent "influential" journalist question, they did freely admit consulting their colleagues. Thus, when a May Southam News Service story by Don McGillivray claimed that "experienced members of the Gallery refused to answer many of the questions,"<sup>1</sup> it is significant to note that the correspondent openly used his Ottawa Gallery reference group as his authority.

It is even more significant to note that the statement is not substantiated by the facts. As the reader can see, the Ottawa respondents answered almost all questions. Hence, it would seem that the above journalists' "sample" was somewhat statistically "biased". Moreover, analyses based on any questions which had low response rates have been quite thoroughly qualified and noted throughout the text, with only very tentative generalizations made.

The same journalist who conceded to this writer that his criticism was almost exclusively on the section of the interview schedule prepared by someone else, also wrote that the survey had set "people wondering about the

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<sup>1</sup> Medicine Hat News, May 26, 1966. The story also appeared in other Southam newspapers. (Underline added).





quality of the research".<sup>1</sup> Since no social scientists were interviewed, one might wonder if the reporter and his colleagues had become "instant experts" in sociology.

Moreover, are these musteriorous "people" the same as the "interested observers" to whom Gallery journalists frequently refer?. (See Chapter IV) How many "people" were involved? Who are they? These questions too are pertinent here.

Blair Fraser, the fifth journalist, also paying homage to his Gallery brethren, said that his "colleagues assure me that it (his interview schedule) was typical".<sup>2</sup> He went on to say that "at a guess I'd say at least one third of the questions had not the remotest relevance to bilingualism or biculturalism". Perhaps, the writer not being versed in modern social science techniques had never heard of "independent" or "basic" variables or "background data" against which all subsequent responses are compared? Possibly, like Norman DePoe, he found himself in the presence of "some mysterious process... that (he doesn't) really understand".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit. (Underline added).

<sup>2</sup> MacLean's Magazine, April 1967. P. 2. (Underline added).

<sup>3</sup> Weekend Report CBC TV, April 30, 1966.



In summary, then, the press comments of the Ottawa newsmen bear out some of the points raised by critics of the Gallery and by this report. The Ottawa newsmen sometimes "interview" each other or, at the very least, clip each others stories. They sometimes use their "colleagues" as a psychological reference group. They sometimes pretend to be experts in areas where they are not qualified. Finally, they sometimes write carelessly and inaccurately.



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